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SUBSISTENCE SONGS:  
HAITIAN *TÉAT* PERFORMANCES, GENDERED CAPITAL,  
AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN JEAN MAKOUT, HAITI

INTRODUCTION

Rural Haitian women assiduously negotiate sexual acquiescence to men and they do so with the goal of material gain. Ira Lowenthal (1984:22) first described this behavior in detail when he reported that women in his research community referred to their genitals as *entere-m* (my assets), *lajan-m* (my money), or *manmanlajan-m* (my capital), in addition to *tè-m* (my land); a common proverb was, *chak famn fet ak yon kawo te – nan mitan janm ni* (every women is born with a parcel of land – between her legs). Lowenthal (1984:22) described this type of female commoditization of sexuality as a “field of competition” wherein women are at a socially constructed advantage: Men are conceived of and taught to think they need sexual interaction with women while woman portray themselves and are taught to think of themselves as able to get along without sex and thus are able to exact material rewards for sexual contact with men. Called “gendered capital” by Karen E. Richman (2003:123), these sexual-material values are universal in rural Haiti and apply whether the woman in question is dealing with a husband, lover, or a more casual relationship. Moreover, the process is linked to a sexual division of labor and rights and duties associated with control of the household, extra-household income, and female marketing activities.

In this article I look at how gendered capital – or what may alternatively be described as Haiti’s sexual-moral economy – is expressed in songs that rural adolescent girls compose, sing, and act out in theatrical performances called *téat*. Reminiscent of Jorge Duany (1984:186) who stated that the traditional song “cannot fail to create and recreate the most important social values of the group that produced it” and John Szwed (1970:220) who wrote that “song forms and performances are themselves models of social behavior

that reflect strategies of adaptation to human and natural environments,” the songs I present highlight the uniform sexual-material-domestic value system found throughout rural Haiti. I use the songs as a mechanism to present and describe this value system in a remote rural area of Haiti called Jean Makout, a pseudonym. I try to show how sexual values in the area relate to matrifocality and subsistence strategies and in doing so attempt to explain how they came about and are maintained. Women, I explain, control production and reproduction in Jean Makout: They bear and rear children and in the process they exploit child labor to accomplish household chores, rear animals, and plant gardens, endeavors that ultimately free the women to engage in regional commercial marketing activities. The process is orchestrated largely by older mothers, full-time market women who extend their control over reproduction to that of their young daughters, allowing them (women) to ultimately determine the terms of sexual negotiation with men and putting older women on economically equal footing with men, indeed, often allowing women to economically dominate their spouses.

### THE SITE

Jean Makout, Haiti, is a *commune*, or what in the United States is known as a county. It is made up of 168 square miles of one of the most geographically rugged, remote, and underdeveloped areas of Haiti. The 130,320 men, women, and children living there are mostly scattered throughout the countryside in 22,827 relatively dispersed homesteads and clusters of homesteads. The primary household livelihood strategies are small-scale agriculture, animal husbandry, and to a much lesser degree, fishing. There are no tractors, no electric labor-saving devices – no electricity at all – no piped water, no water pumps, and no mechanized fishing technology, not even, at the time of this research, outboard motors.

This is not to say that Jean Makout has been untouched by the world economy and global trends. In addition to 100 years of colonialism and slavery (1697-1791), the Jean Makout social system and the ancestors of most people who live in the region underwent thirteen years of bloody and violent social upheaval (1791-1804), 202 years of rule by a repressive Haitian state apparatus (1804-present), 141 of which were tempered by spiritual guidance from the Catholic Church, as well as nineteen years of neocolonial U.S. military occupation (1915-1934) and, most recently, fifty years of massive out-migration and an onslaught of internationally funded technical and nutritional aid programs arguably as intense as any place on the planet. These most recent trends, migration and foreign aid, have created a social system characterized by the flight of the elite and rural intelligentsia resulting in a system of ongoing abandonment that leaves the poorest and least educated behind and has given

way to extreme poverty, a withdrawal into the local economy, and dependence on traditional subsistence strategies that involve virtually no mechanization and require high expenditures of manual labor (Schwartz 2001).

Lack of infrastructure and wage labor opportunities mean that the primary organizational unit of production is the household. Kinship ties and extra household work groups link individuals at the supra-household levels but it is through the household that the individual survives, and it is the labor demands met through household organizational strategies that are most conspicuous feature of the economy. Very importantly for this article, high labor requirements for households mean that people in Jean Makout are heavily dependent on their children for assistance. The importance of children and dependency on family labor is the key to understanding gender relations in Jean Makout.

## RESEARCH

The data are based on five years living in the region, development reports, a 1,586 one-in-fourteen systematic random sample of all households in the *commune* (1,586 households). Additional surveys were conducted between 1998 and 2000 and included a gender and ecologically stratified, random, 136-household subsample of farmers' opinions regarding children and the purposes for having children, and three other surveys focusing on livestock and gardens, household labor demands, and marriage patterns. The surveys attempted to discriminate differences by regional and ecological zone but it was found that gender relations and livelihood strategies are remarkably uniform throughout the *commune*, as are the presented songs (see Appendix).

## GIRLS' TÉAT SONGS

### *Girls' Theater*

When school is out for the summer, girls in rural Jean Makout neighborhoods form dance troupes called *téat* (theater). The troupes are formed by the girls themselves. There is no adult sponsorship or leadership. The girls are all pre-nuptial, have not yet borne children, and are generally aged 10 to 20 years. Older girls appoint themselves troupe directors and instruct the younger girls in daily practices. The girls dress in short skirts and sing while performing the latest erotic dances such as the *buterfli* (butterfly), a dance in which the girls gyrate, opening their legs wide and rocking their abdomens out toward the impromptu audience as they descend lower and lower toward the ground. The songs are improvised from bits of other songs and spiced with the girls' own creative additions. The most popular songs are imbued with sexual con-

notations such as the following, in which the girls celebrate their own budding sexuality with respect to the sexual bravado of men,

Look here, it is mango season  
 Look here, the mangos are sweet and beautiful  
 Good day young lady, I say to you good day  
 It is a plantain that has come to make things sweet

It's Pepsi Cola I drink. It is Coca Cola I drink  
 It's Pepsi Cola I drink. It is Coca Cola I drink

*Vwasi lè mango,  
 Vwasi lè mango, yo dous e yo koket  
 Bon swa madamwazel mwen di ou bon swa  
 Se yon banan ki vini pou-l sikre*

*Se pepsi kola m bwe, se koka kola m bwe  
 Se pepsi kola m bwe, se koka kola m bwe*

The song relies heavily on metaphors, and in this particular one, informants explained that mangos, ubiquitous in Haiti and the all-time favorite fruit, symbolize the girls' budding young breasts. The eroticism of fruit and particularly a mango with its soft juicy flesh is clear to native speakers; the declaration that "it is mango season," means that it is time to eat mangos, the fruit is ripe, or rather, the girl has come of age and she is ready to engage in sexual relations. The "good day young lady" is an introduction to the young woman and the next line reveals the speaker, a man, represented as another fruit, a plantain, which is not sweet but has nevertheless come to add sugar (*sikre*), and happens to be the most phallic-shaped fruit in Haiti, leaving little doubt for analysis (any remaining doubts are erased by snickering Haitian informants). The references to Pepsi and Coca Cola are metaphors for prestige. In Jean Makout these are, aside from beer, the most expensive locally available beverages and they have correspondingly high prestige value, representing the speaker as a high roller.

Thus, the songs reviewed here all touch on the theme of sex. The songs also highlight female ideals and aspirations, gender relations, control over resources, parental-daughter relationships, and most importantly of all, the rules, expectations, and norms associated with male-female sexual interaction, all of which, I argue, are interrelated in what might be called a type of sexual-moral economy. The analysis, conducted with the assistance of local informants who helped explain the double and sometimes triple meaning of the words to the songs, begins with a look at a socially constructed problem that Jean Makout women have and the representation of that problem in *téat* songs.

## MALE SEXUAL AGGRESSIVENESS

A common expression used by women in Jean Makout is “men are dogs” (*gason se chyen*); “men can not get by without having sex” (*gason pa ka rete san fi*). No strong prohibitions exist in Jean Makout against men seducing young women and Haitian laws that prohibit sex with girls under fifteen are not enforced. Men in their fifties, sixties, and even men in their seventies are referred to with regard to their sexuality as *jenn gason* (young men) and powerful men may have four or five and even six common-law wives, a source of pride and esteem. Thus, young women are badgered and cajoled by a relatively large pool of socially eligible, sexually active, and highly aggressive men. The most common seduction tactic is for a man to catch a woman on a footpath or while she is alone in the kitchen. He will seize her arm so she cannot get away, playfully trying to pull her near, proclaiming his desire for her and pleading for her sexual affection while whispering promises of money and gifts.

As counterintuitive as it might at first seem, females arguably play an influential role in encouraging aggressive male sexual conduct. They take part in propagating the myth that a celibate man can go insane, become ill, and may die. They tease timid boys and ridicule celibate men, taunting them with names like *jay-jay* (retarded) and *masisi* (homosexual); and they goad younger brothers and even sons into pursuing nubile young women with comments that sound to the Westerner like admonitions to rape, “you must bother them, don’t let them get away, grab them” (*fo ou jennen yo, pa kite yo ale, fo ou kenbe yo*). The influence of women in conditioning male attitudes begins at an early age, as exemplified by the fondling of the genitals of male infants, toddlers, and boys up to the ages of 9 and 10 years, something so thoroughly engrained and accepted as to appear to the foreigner to be below the level of awareness. The fondling is made easy by the custom of making prepubescent boys go without pants. Examples of the context in which it occurs include the following: A rural woman nervous about being interviewed by the author distracts herself by fondling a 4-year-old’s penis all the while she is answering questions; a 19-year-old woman sitting on a bed in a dimly lit hut talking to the author reaches beside her and, without ever looking at what she is doing, begins fondling the penis of a naked 8-year-old boy, and does so as nonchalantly as if she had just picked up a pen or any other stray object off the table; a 22-year-old woman excited to see her 2-year-old nephew tickles his penis, lifts the boy, swings his body up to her face and pops his penis playfully into her mouth. The toddlers and young boys are not indifferent to the treatment and react with enthusiasm, smile and laugh when given the attention, and often follow their significant female others around. The song below playfully alludes to, or is at least suggestive of the active role that Jean Makout females play in determining male sexual identity and the coy preservation, or at least guarded access, to their own sexuality,

I went to Port-de-Paix  
 I went to buy a little wooden club  
 Little club, if it falls I will make it rise again  
 Two feet tied, two arms crossed  
 I have a place  
 I have a place on my body that boys don't know  
 Where is it?  
 Below my mound  
 Below my mound

*M ale Pò-de-Pe  
 M-al achte yon ti baton  
 Ti baton si-l tonbe m-a leve-l  
 Dè pye mare, dè bra-m kwaze  
 Mwen g'on kote  
 Mwen g'on kote nan ko-m ti gason pa konnen  
 Ki kote li ye?  
 Anba ti vant mwen  
 Anba ti vant mwen*

The reference to “a little wooden club” is an obvious phallic allusion (clubs are not something that everyone in Jean Makout is walking around with, and while old infirm people might use a cane, purchasing one is nonsensical). The line, “if the club falls,” signifies the loss of an erection and this image is reinforced by the next line which in Kreyol uses the verb *leve* (rise) and *anko* (again) – “I will make it rise again” – rather than *ranmase*, the Kreyol word for “pick up” – “I will pick up the club.” The next line, “Two feet tied, two arms crossed,” suggests restraint or prohibited access to the woman’s sexuality. The remaining lines, “I have a place boys don’t know ... under my mound” are a proclamation of virginity and chastity: “under my mound” is translated from “*anba ti vant mwen*,” it literally means “under my little stomach.” In effect, the girl may choose, “buy,” a penis to fondle, making it rise again and again, but her own genitals have never been “known” by boys.

#### CHASTITY AND THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF FEMALE SEXUALITY

Although women encourage men to be sexually aggressive and inculcate in boys the association between females and sexual stimulation, they are not themselves so willing to comply with the amorous wishes of men. The socially constructed attitudes of Jean Makout women are contrary to that of men. While admitting that they desire sex, women define themselves as not needing it. Despite the “hot” tone of the songs, they always include restraint, as in the previous song, “two feet tied, two arms crossed ... I have a place

that boys don't know." All Jean Makoutiens know and commonly say, "girls do not flirt with boys" (*fi pa konn koze a gason*). It is the boy's job to flirt. Sexually aggressive women or those who engage in sex for pleasure are criticized, as in "she is such slut" (*tann li bouzen*), or insultingly called "nymphomaniac" (*pitén*). A young woman who has not had children and is not in union will always insist she is a virgin, no matter what her personal sexual history might be; and as a matter of identity and pride most Jean Makout women insist, often and quite publicly when the subject arises, that they can live without sex. They describe themselves as *sipòtan* (able to tolerate abstinence). They maintain an attitude of sexual indifference, describing excessive sexual intercourse as painful, a burdensome service they provide to men, and while admitting that sex can be fun, and even exalting its pleasures, they consider over-manifestations of their own biological interest in sex to be a fault, something evident in attitudes toward vaginal secretions during sex. Commonly thought in Western society as a biological sign of sexual arousal, Jean Makout women who become more than slightly wet are called *bonbon dlo* (watery vagina), considered disgusting; and women make efforts to dry themselves if the condition manifests itself during sex, even if the sex is with their husbands.

As in studies mentioned from elsewhere in rural Haiti (Lowenthal 1987, Richman 2003), the defining feature of female attitudes toward sexual relations in Jean Makout is that they view their sexuality as an economic asset. They say that they are born with a *carreau* of irrigated land between their legs (the most valuable asset in rural Haiti); and they refer to their genitalia in exchange terms, *byen-pa-m* (assets/goods), excusing each other for engaging in an affair outside of conjugal union so long as the man reciprocates with material rewards: "She is a woman isn't she? It's her right"; "Getting by is not a sin" (*degaje se pa pech*). Men are acutely aware of the rules, and they commonly say, "in order to have a woman you must have money" (*pou gen fi, fo gen lajan*), and "women eat/devour men," meaning they take all a man's wealth (*fi konn manje gason*). A woman's right to exchange sex for financial reward is exalted in the following song which according to informants is actually a metaphor for sex and a demand for payment,

I need a couple of dollars  
 Why do I need couple of dollars?  
 To buy a ribbon, to tie around my waist, to make my hips shake/the dance  
 work  
 Just throw it in my alley, two dollars  
 Just throw it in my alley, two dollars  
 Just throw it in my alley, two dollars

*Mwen bezwen dè dola  
 Sa pou-m fe dè dola?  
 Pou achte yon ribon pou fe lamayet mache  
 Lage li nan riyèl la, dè dola  
 Lage li nan riyèl la, dè dola,  
 Lage li nan riyèl la, dè dola*

This song humorously summarizes the attitudes with which Jean Makout women imbue their sexuality. As with the other songs, it is a play on words, but words already very sexual. The Kreyol term *lamayet* designates a sexy dance movement and informants explained that it is combined with the word *mache* (to function, operate, work) to form the implied verb “to hump” – make the dance (*lamayet*) function or less suggestively, to enable the girl to better shake her hips. *Lage* literally means “to let go” and a Haitian male “come on” is, *lage-m nan reyal la*, which means, “let me loose in your alley.” But in terms of money a very common colloquialism is, *lage sink goud nan min mwen*, (let a dollar go in my hand). Thus, *lage li nan reyal la* is a play on these two expressions and to state it literally, it means, “just throw the money in my vaginal canal.” So the song is a rather ingenious circular play on words that reduced means, “I need two dollars. Why? Because if you want me to perform sex that is what it costs to get my hips going. So just throw the two dollars right in my vagina.” The Jean Makoutiens who reviewed these songs with me could hear this particular song several times in succession and laugh hysterically every time.

#### THE SEXUAL MARKET AND NEGOTIATING GENDER

Male sexual aggressiveness and female chastity coupled with the material demands women attach to sexual acquiescence set the grounds for a negotiated struggle between the genders: Men want women to grant them sexual favors; women want material goods and money. Young, old, and those men already in common-law union or married harass and plead for sexual favors from young women who are not yet in union. But wanting sex is one thing; getting it is another.

No matter how much a woman might be attracted to a man, she is supposed to resist, and at the heart of the issue of resistance is the value of her sexuality and what the man has to offer in exchange. A woman will indicate her receptiveness by providing the man with cooked food when he visits her at her mother’s home. But she must not concede, she must not respond to sexual advances. She holds out for gifts and money. Unless in utter secrecy, no self-respecting young Jean Makout woman will give any open indication of sexual acquiescence before the gift of gold earrings and a gold chain, the

defining symbol of a man's intentions to play by the rules. And if the man hopes for continued receptivity he must continually bring gifts, meat, garden produce, and store-bought presents from town, a handkerchief, perfume, a porcelain figurine. To the extent that he does this the woman will manifest her willingness, reciprocating with domestic service, washing clothes, providing water for him to wash and, as the man demonstrates his generosity, acquiescing to sexual contact. All of this ideally occurs under the watchful eye of the young woman's mother.

Some men, of course, try to cheat. They try to get something for nothing by not living up to their pretenses, by not fulfilling the financial responsibilities that men have to lovers and to the mothers of their children. Women and their families strenuously object to this behavior. Throughout Haiti the most widely used insult for men and one that has a very exact meaning is *vakabon*, a name with legal-historical origins – the crime of being a man with no money or job, but that today specifically denotes a playboy who does not meet his financial responsibilities to lovers, wives, and offspring. The *vakabon* is a major concern to Jean Makout women and a recurrent theme in *téat* songs:

Young men, they are not working, they do not have just one girlfriend  
 Young women think they have money  
 The men offer engagement and the girls give their whole body to them  
 Then the men ignore them, turn their backs and go  
 If you see I am carrying a gift it is for my godmother  
 Accompanied by another for my godfather  
 Godfather come and get it, you must come and get it in the *butterfli*  
 If you can not come get it in the *butterfli*, you can not have it

*Jen gason yo pap travay, yo pa kondi yon sel menaj*  
*Jen fi yo pa panse si yo pa gen lajan*  
*Lè yo we yo finanse, yo lage tout ko bay yo*  
*Lè sa yo meprize, yo vire do yo ale*  
*Si ou we m pote yon kado se pou fe maren kado*  
*Akompani a yon lôt, se pou parenn mwen li ye*  
*Parenn mwen w-ap vin pran, w-ap vin pran nan butterfli*  
*Si ou pa pran nan butterfli, ou pa ka vin pran nan min*

In this song the girls complain, and warn, that many young men dress smartly and act as if they have money when in fact they do not. They bluff young women, promising money and marriage for sex. Girls who fall for it are subsequently abandoned. There is then a refrain about godmothers. Godmothers are like mothers, special, female, and deserving of gifts. In the next line the girl, says the godfather, "must come and get it in the *butterfli*," a sexual allusion. The only *butterfli* in the Kreyol language is a dance movement mentioned earlier where girls spread their legs, thrust out their abdomen, and

gyrate. Thus the metaphor means, “to take it from the girl’s crotch,” echoing the exchange relations between the genders because, as Jean Makoutiens know, the only gift a Jean Makout woman should give to a man is sex, not material goods – it is men who give material goods to women. The same rules in a modified form extend into conjugal union; and it is at this stage that the link between subsistence and sexual-moral economy begins to become clear.

#### CONJUGAL UNION AND THE PROVISION OF A HOUSE

The building of a house is the single most important event that occurs in the legitimization of a union. A couple may have several children but until the man has provided her with her own house, they are not considered in union nor is the woman bound by obligations of fidelity. Even legal marriage is dismissed and legally vacuous if the man has not provided a house for his wife.

The value of a woman’s sexuality is so closely linked to material exchange and house building that in cases of rape, marriage between victim and assailant is a possible penalty, particularly if the parties are young and particularly if the man is of higher socioeconomic status. In a case that occurred in a community where I was living, a 25-year-old man was convicted of raping a 14-year-old girl. His punishment: To buy the girl a gold chain, earrings, and to promise marriage. The parents took the chain and earrings but citing the man’s poverty, “that good-for-nothing can not provide anything for our child” (*sansave sa pa ka regle anyen pou pitit pa nou*), they insultingly sent the man a female dog in their daughter’s stead. If the man is already married, a financial indemnity is the usual outcome. If the woman is married or in a consensual union with another man, the situation is different – and rare. The rapist is considered to have threatened the continuation of the marriage, as the husband may leave his wife. Severity is the rule and the assailant will be going to prison, if the girl’s family does not manage to kill him first, and his family will have to pay the woman and her husband a sum that according to local judges may include the loss of all or most of the man’s property.

The relationship to sexual access, exchange, and the provision of a house is metaphorically represented in the following *téat* song,

A place, I need a place  
 To spin myself around  
 Underneath my house (dress)  
 I have an adult  
 Who is shaking me

*Kote, m bezwenn yon kote  
 Pou-m liete ko-m  
 Anba lakay-um  
 Mwen gen yon gran moun  
 Kap sakaje-m*

In this song the girl is saying that she needs to break out of the confinement of being a child and of social constrictions, “a place I need a place, to spin myself around.” She then gets right to the point, “under her house,” which informants explained as also meaning “under her dress,” she has “an adult who is shaking her.” The thinly disguised sexual meaning is that the girl’s genitals are mature, “adult,” and they are frustrating her, she is yearning to use them, yearning for sex, she can not stand it any longer, she must find a place to let herself go, she must find a man, she is ready. The song seems to challenge the female rule not to be overtly sexual but it must be remembered that women do not deny their sexual desire; they emphasize that unlike men, they can control it and in this way is meant to be sexually teasing as in, “I have what you want, it is ready, but you must first provide me with what I need, a place and a house.” To further clarify the point, there are dual and even tri-metaphoric references in the song, references that hit on key themes in Jean Makout gender relations and the demands and aspirations of women. Specifically, women in Jean Makout are thought of as the owners of houses, and a girl does not become a fully recognized adult until she has established her own homestead. But it is that man who, if he wishes to win exclusive sexual access to the woman, must build her a house. Thus, by allusion the girl is saying that she is adult, she has the skills to manage her own home. All she needs is a man and the house he will provide; and by metaphor she is a house and is stating that “she needs a place” for herself, her house. She is ready to be a woman, she has an adult inside shaking her.

#### DOING YOUR PART

Once a house has been built, the inviolable rights and duties associated with the union begin and they carry the weight of both custom and law. For his part, the man must plant gardens and raise livestock for the household. He may come and go as he pleases. He may even take other wives and *plase* them (build a house for them and provide gardens and livestock). But under no circumstances may he lead another wife or lover into the yard or share products of that particular homestead with another woman. So long as he is fulfilling these obligations, the woman, on her part, must be faithful, another value expressed in a *téat* song that plays on the word *plase*, using it here as

literally meaning, “to get stuck,” but with its metaphoric suggestion, to enter union, and suggesting fidelity,

I’m like corn chaff, I’m like corn chaff  
 Everyone knows I am like corn chaff  
 Wherever I *plase*, I don’t *deplase*  
 Everyone knows I am like corn chaff

When Cedras was president  
 Children did not make love young  
 Now Brother Preval is president and children make love at a year old

*Se pay mayi, se pay mayi*  
*Tout moun konnen m se pay mayi*  
*Kote m plase, m pa deplase*  
*Tout moun konnen me se pay mayi*

*Lè Cedras te la,*  
*ti moun pat reme bonè*  
*Kounie-a se fre Preval, Ti Moun reme sou en an*

The reference to corn chaff and its clinging effects is a humorous allusion to bits of corn that tend to get stuck in the teeth. The phrase “wherever I am *plase* I don’t *deplase*” is a play on the word *plase* which can mean two things, consensual union or to be placed, and *deplase* which means “to move or be moved.” The girl is saying that she is like corn that gets stuck in your teeth, she will not let go easily, also meaning that once she is given a house and enters union with a man she will stay put, she will not abandon him for another man, she is loyal. The rest of the song is a lauding of entrance into sexual activity at an early age: When Cedras the mean military dictator was in power children could not “*reme*” (go steady) at an earlier age. Now that the nice “brother Preval” is running the country, children can engage in relationships at the ridiculously early age of one year, an echo of the lack of proscriptions against seducing young women, but conspicuously attached to provision of a house, *plase*.

## CONTROL

It is the woman who is in control of the household, expenses, and household production. Women take care of the house, clean, wash clothes, make meals, carry water, and purchase basic foods and necessities at the market. Women also sell garden produce in markets and they often specialize in selling a particular staple or item out of the house such as rice, sugar, candles, or soap. A woman who has a husband who is present will typically not participate

in preparing fields or weeding, but women are considered indispensable in planting, and more importantly, for the daily picking of produce and seasonal harvests. Harvesting is considered to be the exclusive domain of women and is typically coordinated by the ranking woman of the house.

Table 1. Who Needs the Other More, Husband or Wife?

	Respondents		
	Men (n = 69)	Women (n = 69)	Men & Women (n = 138)
Husband needs wife more	28%	23%	26%
Wife needs husband more	3%	13%	8%
They both need the other equally	70%	63%	68%
Total Responses	100%	100%	100%

Thus, men and women depend on one another in a socially constructed symbiosis, a need manifest in responses to the question, “can you get by without a spouse?” 86 percent of respondents said no. But reflective of the sexual values described above and of the superior bargaining position of women by virtue of their monopoly over the means of reproduction, men are conceived of as needing women more than the other way around: only 13 percent of women reported that a wife needs her husband more, but 23 percent of women reported that a husband is in greater need of his wife. Similarly, only 4 percent of men interviewed said, yes, they would live without their spouse; in comparison, 24 percent of Jean Makout women said they could live without a husband.

Table 2. Response to, “Can you get by without a spouse?”

	Men (68)	Women (68)	Total 136
No	96%	76%	86%
Yes	4%	24%	14%
	100%	100%	100%

(Chi-sq = 10, bilateral p(y) = .001)

Bearing in mind the greater value of the woman in managing and maintaining the household, a man's provision of a house, gardens, and animals can be understood as a type of contractual partnership in which in exchange for these material goods a woman cedes over access to her ability to reproduce, the resulting children, and her and her children's labor. But she is still in control. People in Jean Makout say, *gason dwe fe kay, min gason pa gen kay* (men have a duty to build houses but they do not have houses). Should a man fail to provide for his spouse and children, the woman has the right to cuckold him without being expelled from the house. The point cannot be understated. For a woman who has borne children with a man, all the property inside the house, all that is in the yard, and all the gardens that a man plants and that are not tagged for another woman belong to her (specifically, they belong to her in the name of the children she has borne with the man). Custom and law reinforce the preeminence of the woman's right to the household and the associated production. Should a man and woman argue, it is the man who must leave, and he takes only his clothes with him – “and his radio,” as informants jokingly added, “if he has one.”

For outsiders who think that Haitian men can violate these rules by physical intimidation and violence, the reality is usually different. Women in Jean Makout can be and often are more ferocious than men. They also have their brothers, fathers, and sisters, all of whom will, if it is clear that the woman's rights are being abused by a man, join her in violent confrontation. In seventeen violent incidences I recorded while living in one Jean Makout community, only four involved men only; eight began with a conflict between a man versus a woman, in only three of these cases the woman was slightly injured, and in four cases the man was severely beaten; in two he almost died. Women also have recourse to the legal system, and judges enforce the rules described.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, women in Jean Makout tend to be tough and they aggressively assert their control over household expenditures. Husbands who impinge on their wives' sovereignty in the financial sphere are resented. Teenage girls sing the following *téat* song with glee:

1. In Haitian urban areas domestic violence against women is widespread. I believe this is a consequence of the large difference in male versus female economic opportunities and the relative absence of family – parents, brothers, sisters, uncles, and cousins – who can protect or even seek revenge for the woman. I do not believe, nor does my personal experience suggest, that violence against women occurs in rural areas to anywhere near the same degree. (Indeed, as seen, women appear more violent than men.) I believe this lower occurrence of domestic violence against women is a consequence of the exact opposite conditions to those found in the city: first, rural women have higher economic status vis-à-vis men than their urban counterparts, and second, family members are present and they often retaliate against violence to their daughters, sisters, mothers, and cousins.

My little Saint Ann  
 I am going to make a demand  
 I don't know if it will be granted  
 But I must make that man quit being stingy

I don't know if it will be granted  
 I am going to make that man quit counting dumplings in the pot

It is the first time, it is the last time that I will be with a man from ...  
 Men from ... like to count the dumplings in the pot

*Mon ti saint ann  
 Mwen pral fe yon demann  
 Mwen pa konnen si lap bon  
 Pou-m ka fe gason kite saf*

*Mwen pa konnen si lap bon  
 Mwen pral fe gason an kite konte boy nan chodie*

*Se premie se denie pou-m kite ak neg ...  
 Neg ... remen konte boy nan chodié*

Saint Ann is a reference to a deified idol, a doll found near the north coast town of Anse-à-Fleur where there exists a waterfall and annual pilgrimage site of *voudou* and Catholic zealots. The doll was found several years ago by a *mambo* (female shaman), who keeps it in a shrine. During the annual pilgrimage people come to ask wishes and favors of the doll. Thus, the girl is saying that the man is such a nuisance with his stinginess that she is going to go to Saint Ann and ask to change his behavior. This is also a nice way of threatening sorcery, and in this she would be justified by local standards because the man is overstepping his bounds. The meaning of the man "counting dumplings" is that he wants to see just how much food his wife is preparing with the objective of calculating how much she is spending, on what, how much she is eating, and who is getting to eat it, all responsibilities in the domain of the woman. The reference to dumplings is also, as indicated by one informant, a sexual one. In the game called *Krik Krak*, a Haitian game of riddles, a local riddle is "a dumpling in a cup." The answer: sexual intercourse, or more bluntly, a penis in a vagina (dumplings, called *boy*, are long and phallic shaped), so that one metaphoric suggestion is that the man counting "dumplings in the pot" is counting how much sex he is getting from his wife. The girls who sing the song tease men from certain zones in Jean Makout with the common refrain, "It is the first, it is the last time I will be with a man from 'such and such place,' men from 'such and such place' like to count the dumplings in the stew pot."

## MEN AND THEIR PROBLEM: MONEY

Some observers might interpret the marital expectations depicted above as favorable to men. In contrast to women who are confined to the drudgery of the homestead and bound by expectations of sexual fidelity, men have nearly unbounded sexual freedom. But women are not bound to the homestead: They have the regional rotating market system, a domain of entrepreneurial activity monopolized exclusively by women. Furthermore, men too want homes. To break free of the bounds of parental control and achieve a minimum of economic autonomy a man must build a house and start a home. But he must first find a woman to make the home productive. It is his spouse who will wash his clothes, make his meals, fetch water, and go to market. He will not be having a great deal of luck seducing other women in the meantime. Female chastity and the financial demands that women attach to their sexuality mean that until a man has demonstrated that he is a dependable source of income his success in sexual ventures depends on lies and deceit, behavior that, if successful at all, only begets failure, as it earns him the reputation of a *vakabon* and quickly destroys, or at least makes greatly difficult, success with other young women. In short, any way that a man approaches the issue, the financial demands that women attach to their sexuality creates a major problem for him: money.

Many young men cannot afford union. In search of money so they can court a woman, buy gold earrings and a chain for her, and begin to build a house, some migrate, causing the proportion of males to females in Jean Makout to drop by 7 to 10 percent for the 20 to 49 year age group. Rather than delay the onset of childbearing waiting for male age cohorts to come back from the city or to become financially mature at home, most young Jean Makout women enter into union and begin bearing children with men who are older and have the financial means to provide for them. Thus, 49 percent of Jean Makout men do not enter union until their thirties while 48 percent of women are already in union before the age of twenty-five. At least a large minority of the men with whom women consent to enter union already have a spouse. In a sample of 122 men over fifty years of age, 40 percent of them had been, at some time in their life, simultaneously engaged in union with more than one woman.

THE KEY TO THE JEAN MAKOUT SEXUAL-MORAL ECONOMY:  
CHILDRENS' ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO HOUSEHOLD  
PRODUCTIONS

Although it takes a man's financial and labor contributions to establish a Jean Makout household and a woman's to manage it, children make the household a viable unit of production. The labor value of children in Jean Makout, even very young children, cannot be gainsaid, and any observer who denies

the importance of children in the endeavor to survive and maintain living standards is neglecting the harsh environmental and economic reality of life in rural Haiti. A household cannot sustain itself without child labor. Only 5.4 percent of households (85 of the 1,523 reporting) in the main survey upon which this study is based had no children – compared to 12 percent of households with no adult woman present full time and 23 percent of households with no adult male present full time. Fifty-seven percent of these childless households (47 of 83 for which the data is available) were in yards with other houses that did have children, indicating that only 36 of 1,523 houses (2.4 percent of the total) were actually homesteads without children.<sup>2</sup>

In Jean Makout it is emphatically child labor that determines the productive capacity of a household. Children perform household chores, they cook, they clean, they retrieve water, they go to the market, they work in the garden, and they tend livestock. In a test of the importance of children, the number of 7- to 25-year-olds present, who were not either the household head or the spouse of the household head, was found to explain fully .33 of the variance in ownership of animals and .33 of the variance in the number of gardens planted. This relationship was originally expected to be a byproduct of the age of the household head – i.e. the older the household head, the more land, animals, and children he or she had accumulated. But when age of the household head was statistically controlled by adding it to the regression equation, the model still explained .32 of the variance in number of household gardens and .20 of the variance in number of household animals (statistics originally published in Schwartz 2004).

The skeptical reader may not be convinced that more children translates to greater wealth. It could just as easily be said that more children translates to the need for more gardens and more animals. Jean Makout farmers, however, needed no convincing. In an opinion survey of 68 women and 68 men randomly selected from my original 1,586 household baseline survey, farmers overwhelmingly emphasized that children are not just helpful, they are necessary; and they are necessary because they work.

Why does a person have children? To help. Right now for example, I would have to go get water. But I don't have to. It is here. I would have to go get wood. But I don't have to. It's right here.

(40-year-old mother of 5)

If I did not have them, things would be worse for me. You need a little water, they go to the water. You need a little firewood, they go get wood. The boys work in the garden for you. They look after the animals.

(33-year-old mother of 8)

2. N = 1,523, missing = 66.

Children are the biggest necessity. If you need something you tell a child. Like right now, I can say, "go look for some firewood," or "some embers from the neighbors' house." "Go to the market."

(27-year-old father of 3)

Children are so valuable that, as mentioned earlier with regard to adolescent girls and *restaveks*, household heads are eager to take in children from other families. Few are able to do so; only 2 percent of children in the baseline survey were living in homes other than those owned and managed by their mother, grandmother, or another close family member.<sup>3</sup>

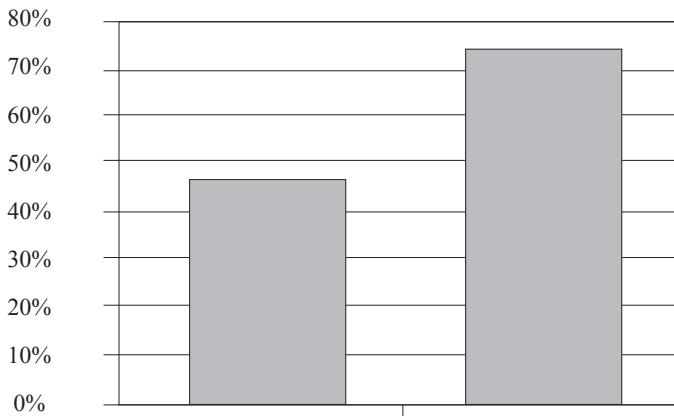
Table 3. Child Residence Patterns: Relationship of Child Household Members to Head of Household

	Frequency	Percent
Child	4,866	79.74
Grandchild	609	9.98
Niece/Nephew	180	2.95
Sibling	137	2.25
Cousin	69	1.13
Restavek	66	1.08
Stepchild	50	0.83
Godchild	18	0.29
Sibling-In-Law	18	0.29
Friend	16	0.26
Total	6,029	100.00

Missing = 86; Children under 19 years of age

3. The value of children means there are no true orphans in the area, not in the sense of being without someone to care for them. In a study of virtually all orphanages in the entire northwest *département* of Haiti, in which Jean Makout is but a small part, I found that virtually all functioned in a manner similar to boarding schools in the United States: most children had parents, most were not from the ranks of the poorest of the peasants, but rather the Haitian orphanage managers shared access to free books, education, and overseas contacts with offspring of wealthier peasants, their own family, and even with offspring of adults who had migrated to Miami. In some cases the orphanage owners had sent for relatives in the city to be "orphans." In other cases peasants rented their children to the orphanage in exchange for part of the money sent by the child's overseas sponsor.

Chart 1. Respondents Preferring Six over Three Children



Children are especially valuable to older people and especially older women who control homesteads. When asked "which is best, for a man and woman to have three or six children?" 45 percent of men favor the larger family versus 72 percent of women who favored the larger family. Responses also varied substantially by age. Women over 50 were far more inclined than any other male or female age category to choose the couple with six children: Fully 87 percent (20 of the 23 women) chose the couple with six.

Table 4. Preferred Number of Children by Age and Sex of Respondent

		Age Categories			Total	
		20 – 34	35 - 49	50 +		
<i>A couple with three children versus a couple with six, who is better off?</i>	Men	Three	10	11	14	35
		Six	3	13	13	29
		Total	13	24	27	64
	Women	Three	10	6	3	19
		Six	13	16	20	49
		Total	23	22	23	68

Missing = 4

Older women's preference for more children than younger women has to do with the economic benefits that accrue to older women with many children at their disposal. With greater numbers of children women begin to plant their own gardens and to raise more animals, activities that free her from dependency on a husband. Among the 24 percent of women seen earlier who said that they could live without a man (see Table 2), it was in fact entirely women with three children or more who said so (Table 5).

Table 5. Women Who Say They Can Live Without a Husband by Number of Children

Women who say they can live without a spouse	Number of Children	
	0 – 2 (n = 10)	3 – 5 (n = 58)
Yes	00.0%	27.0%
No	100.0%	73.0%

Women made no secret about the value of children in helping them attain economic independence from husbands, commonly responding with statements such as,

What makes me say I can live without a man? What I need to do to come up with a sack of food I can accomplish with my four children.

(30-year-old mother of 4)

If I have children, I don't need my husband at all. Children, hey! hey! I would like to have ten children. I don't need my husband.

(41-year-old mother of 7)

Why can I live without a man? I arrive at an age like this. All my affairs are in order. I don't need my husband anymore.

(56-year-old mother of 8)

Equally or more important than livestock and gardens, child labor frees a woman to enter fully into a career in marketing, an endeavor that is, after gardens and livestock, the third most important source of income in the region, one that can put women on economic footing equal to and sometimes substantially greater than men. And as indicated by the women who say they can live without a husband, success comes with age and with children. A Jean Makout woman with four to eight children is four times more likely to be engaged in commercial activity than a woman with zero to three children.

Freed by the help of children, the most successful women sometimes build their trade revenue up to several thousand Haitian dollars per month. They buy agricultural land and animals, invest in a wide assortment of business ventures and sometimes even hire men to work gardens for them. Houses that have a woman in her 40s, 50s, and 60s are almost invariably known not by the husband's name, but by the name of the woman, as in Ma Zel's house or Lili's place.

But as seen, it all depends on the availability of child labor. And so it is with the issue of the value of children that we arrive at an understanding of gender relations in Jean Makout.

IT'S TOUGH TO BE A MAN: FATHERS AND THE DAUGHTERS WHO  
DON'T CARE MUCH ABOUT THEM

Despite the sexual freedom, most men begin and end their adult lives in a union with the same woman. Even when men take other wives they seldom abandon their first wife. But, the socially constructed gender behavior of men means that their lives are oriented outside the home as makers and tenders of distant gardens, tenders of livestock, professional craftsmen who often must voyage far from home as house builder, boat carpenter, sawyer, or as a fisherman and migrant laborer in pursuit of wages to pay for homes, to be able to afford gifts for lovers, and to pay for the education and upkeep of children, all necessary to rise above the label of *vakabon*. Thus, often absent from the homestead, men do not consistently participate in the upbringing of their children. They are seen as fickle, and they are correspondingly not, as seen in the *téat* song below, appreciated to the same degree as mothers:

Since I was a baby in my mother's stomach  
They turned me loose in Makab  
After I managed to make a little money, they accused me of being a thief  
When my father heard, he took a bus and went away  
When my mother heard, she took a bus and came to get me  
For my father, he can go. Gooooooooooooo.  
For my mother, she is my mother since I was I baby, I must caress her

*Depi m piti nan vant mama, yo lage-m nan Makab*  
*Apre ekonmi yo akize-m kom yon gwo volè*  
*Lè papa-m tande sa, li pran yon machinn li ale kite-m*  
*Lè mama-m tande sa, li pran machinn li vini chèche mwen*  
*Anko pou papa-m li met ale, ale o*  
*Mama dejá mama depi m piti fok mwen karese-l*

THE MOTHER-DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIP

In contrast to disparaging attitudes toward fathers, Jean Makout girls revere their mothers. Eight of the forty-two *téat* songs analyzed included refrains praising mothers and designating gifts and money meant for the mother. But the relationship goes both ways: mothers reported favoring daughters over sons by a factor of four to one. The value of girls means that women are also eager to take in nieces, younger female cousins, and in an institution known as *restavek*,<sup>4</sup> less fortunate female offspring of other families, although the

4. The *restavek* institution is a rural-village and rural urban phenomenon; farmers loan children to gain sociopolitical and commercial contacts in village and urban areas and to attain educational opportunities for their children.

value of young girls also means they are seldom successful in procuring them. And, while some observers may object to a crass materialist approach, mothers themselves reported that the reason they prefer girls is because they are a tremendous help around the homestead: 62 percent of mothers gave this as the reason.

Girls learn young how to care for the household and how to perform tasks of the mother. By the age of 12 or 13 years Jean Makout country girls can do most things their mothers can: cook, clean, take care of younger children, and sell at the market. Indeed, when arriving at homesteads in Jean Makout one often finds not the mother but a young teenage girl left in charge.

Girls, however, grow up, they meet men, get pregnant, and have their own children. Mothers know they cannot hold on to their daughters forever. The labor value of daughters is greatly important to women, and they are understandably loath to lose them to men. But daughters have another value in that they can produce more children. So before they leave home and start their own households, mothers still have hope. They can guide their daughters in successful sexual negotiations with men and in the process benefit from the children born in the interim. And it is here that we arrive at the key to understanding the perpetuation of gender relations in Jean Makout, what could be called a sexual-moral economy, something that begins with the fact that many Jean Makout girls are in fact reluctant to enter childbearing.

#### UNWILLING MOTHERHOOD

Young Jean Makout women pregnant for the first time commonly disavow their condition right up until the time their bulging stomachs make denial impossible. Others tie ribbons around their stomachs to conceal their condition. In my first experience with this in the summer of 1996, I took a convulsing 16-year-old rural girl to the hospital. Eight months pregnant, she had concealed her condition by tying torn strips of cloth around her stomach. The French doctor who treated her reported that the stomach tying almost killed the young woman. In May 1997, while I was in the Jean Makout village, a 15-year-old girl tried to abort an unwanted pregnancy by popping fourteen anti-malaria pills (chloroquin) into her mouth and washing them down with *kleren* (raw rum). An hour later, while she was at the spring waiting to fill a water bucket for the household, she fell dead.

But there are tremendous social pressures that come to bear on young women reluctant to begin childbearing. A 25-year-old woman explained, "my mother said that if she caught us taking birth control pills she would club us to death" (*mama-m di si li jwenn nou pran gren li tap tiye nou anba baton*). Social pressures against abortion are equally strong. Mothers, grandmothers, sisters, and female friends are quick to condemn abortion as the "greatest of

all sins" (*pi gwo pech*) and counsel young girls against abortion by explaining that it will rot their vaginal canals, making them disgusting to men. By law, women are supposed to be imprisoned for aborting pregnancies. In reality imprisonment is rare, but women are, nevertheless, ridiculed and publicly disgraced. In an instance witnessed by a U.S. missionary working in the Jean Makout area, a 15-year-old girl who had allegedly aborted a fetus was tied to a post in a busy market while a civil servant spent his day standing nearby announcing her crime over a hand-held loudspeaker. In the spring of 1998, in the thatch-roofed, seaside hamlet of Makab, where this research began, fishermen found a fetus floating in the sea. The news spread quickly and literally hundreds of people descended from the hills into the tiny village. The police were summoned. Houses were searched, and eventually the still bleeding 16-year-old mother was discovered hiding under a sheet in the corner of a friend's house. As the police led the humiliated girl away, the crowd of family, friends, and neighbors menacingly chanted her name, "Viki! Viki! Viki!"

#### MOTHERS AND CONTROL

Everybody in Jean Makout wants children, though this is most true of older people and especially older women. Fathers over 50 years of age were four times as likely to prefer six over three children than fathers under 35 years of age, (52 percent versus 13 percent); and for women this age-related preference was 87 percent to 57 percent. And it is here more than anywhere else, that we find the key to control over the sexuality of young women. Unlike with sons, who are encouraged to aggressively pursue women, mothers tightly rule sexual access to daughters. Some prenuptial daughters who are not in school are forbidden to leave the homestead alone for any reason, not even to go to the water. Girls caught meeting with men in secret often suffer severe whippings. But the objective is not to keep the girl from getting pregnant. On the contrary. Mothers teach girls to revile contraceptives as dangerous and abortion as the greatest sin. They also misinform them about the processes of conception, telling them such things as they will likely get pregnant only if they have sex during menstruation. In the meantime, girls are instructed to tell flirtatious men to "come to their mother's house" where the mother can help decide if the man is a worthy choice. Once the mother has identified a suitor as credible, the man is made to feel welcome. He is invited to the house and deliberately left alone with the daughter for increasingly lengthy intervals. He may even begin to sleep over. The diligent mother then carefully watches for signs of pregnancy, periodically probing the daughters' genitals to see if the hymen has been perforated. Thus, women almost always bear their first, and sometimes the first several, children while living with their mothers. Fully 30 percent of all daughters over 14 years of age and still

living with their mother have borne one or more children; 22 percent of them have borne more than one; 13 percent have borne three or more.

The control wielded by mother's mother is manifest in the upbringing of the child. When a daughter bears a child while still living with her mother, it is her mother, the child's grandmother, who usually assumes the role of mother. While the real mother only breastfeeds the child or does mundane tasks such as cleaning up after him or her, the grandmother refers to the child as her own. And the child is taught to call her *manman* (mother), not *gran* (grandmother), while the mother is called by her first name as if she were the child's sister. Even after the mother has moved out and *plased* with a man the grandmother often keeps the grandchild or several of the grandchildren.

All the preceding – control exercised by the mother over the daughter or surrogate daughter, the subsistence alliance between mothers and daughters, and the role of the mother in guiding a girl's sexual conduct – is celebrated in the following *téat* song:

Heads together the time has already arrived  
 Hand in hand until the time arrives  
 My mother sent me to the river (to get water)  
 In broad daylight, this man came to bluff me  
 My mother sent me to get water and told me to hurry  
 The man came to fool me, he said  
 Sweetheart, I will give you a gold chain but you must not tell your mother so  
 Sweetheart, I will give you a gold ring but you must not tell your mother so  
 And so I said to him,  
 Sweetheart, if you give me a gold chain I must tell my mother so  
 Sweetheart, if you give me a gold ring I must tell my mother so

*Tet ansanm lè a déjà rive*  
*Min dans la min jiskaskè lè a rive*  
*Se nan dlo maman-m voye mwen*  
*La jounen myseu sa vin pou-l blosé-m*  
*Se nan dlo maman-m voye m byen prese*  
*Myseu vin pou chaba-m*  
*Ti cheri, m-ap f-o kado yon chen an lò fo-k ou pa di maman ou sa*  
*Ti cheri, m-a p f-o kado yon bag an lò fo-k ou pa di maman ou sa*  
*Ti cheri, si ou fe-m kado yon chen an lò fo-k mwen ka di maman-m sa*  
*Ti cheri, si ou fe-*  
*m kado yon bag an lò fo-k mwen ka di maman-m sa*

## CONCLUSION

Songs created by adolescent girls' theater troupes in Jean Makout, Haiti, emphasize gender roles, the sexual relations of production, and the material conditions that establish the foundation of those social relations. Those relations are linked in a political and economic negotiation, even struggle, in what could be called a sexual-moral economy. Men are taught to need sex while female sexual acquiescence is conceptualized as a service that should be remunerated. Sexual exchange itself can be understood as a representation and social reinforcement of the relations of production and reproduction. In Jean Makout men supply women with the means of production: households, gardens, and animals. But it is women who manage production and who monopolize reproduction. Perhaps related to a long history of male economic orientation outside the homestead – including male wage migration – women orchestrate household labor activities, they cook, clean, they harvest gardens, they even butcher livestock, and they exclusively control the sale of agricultural products on the local market. Women also retain control over reproduction in Jean Makout: they bear and rear children and in the process they exploit child labor to their advantage using it to accomplish household chores, rear animals, and plant gardens, freeing themselves to engage in regional commercial marketing activities. The process is orchestrated largely by older mothers who through instilling values extend their control over reproduction to that of their young daughters, allowing them to determine the terms of sexual negotiation and putting them on economically equal footing with men, indeed, often allowing women to economically dominate their spouses.

The actual unfolding of these ideals, the perpetuation of the social balance in power between the genders, between young and old, and the accomplishment of economic goals of individuals involved are not in reality as neat as a mathematical formula. As with cultural values and institutions in all societies, the ideal does not give way to perfect social order. For example, as seen, young women sometimes resist and succeed in concealing pregnancies by tying their stomachs or aborting children. There is contradiction in women projecting the image of being "hot" and desirable while at the same time portraying themselves as not in need of sexual contact. But then that is exactly the point, what Karen Richman called "gendered capital" in Haiti is a dynamic socially constructed "field of competition." Having said that, the system is perhaps most remarkable, not for its exceptions, but the consistency between ideals and values as expressed in girls' *téat* songs and actual domestic rights, duties, and division of familial power. In concluding, I leave the reader with a final song:

To the river I was going  
I heard the music playing  
The braids on my head started coming undone  
Young women of Jean Makout, help me celebrate  
I don't see no reason to stay here in Jean Makout anymore

If you see me come back carrying a gift  
It is for my mother  
Manman come and get it  
Mommy, mommy dear, here is a beautiful gift for you  
Mommy, mommy dear, I can never finish thanking you

*Bo rivie m ta prale  
M tande yon mizik kap jwe  
Chevè nan tet detrasaye  
Ti medanm nan Jean Makout ede-m fete  
Mwen pa we rezon pou rete nan Jean Makout anko*

*Si ou ta we m pote yon kado  
Se pou maman-m mwen pote-l  
Mama-m cheri vin pran nan min  
Mami, mami cheri, min yon bel kado mwen pote pou ou  
Mami, mami cheri, mwen pa ka fin di mesi*

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## APPENDIX

For readers interested in a more detailed explanation of the research: I spent ten years working in the region, five years of which were fieldwork, including one year of residence in a small fishing hamlet and four years of residence in Jean Makout farming and village communities as well as intermittent residence one of Haiti's largest cities. Quantitative data is drawn from five surveys that I carried out and a multitude of survey reports produced by international development consultants and missionaries working in the region.

*The Nutritional, Health, Agricultural, Demographic, and Social (NHADS) Survey*

The survey was initiated by three development organizations working in the area: PISANO (Projet Intégré de Sécurité Alimentaire Nord-Ouest) funded by the German BMZ (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development), AAA (Agro-Action Allemande), also funded by the BMZ, and ID (Initiative Développement) funded by the French government. The goals of the survey were to 1) give a demographic overview of the *commune*, 2) provide nutritional, health, socioeconomic, and agricultural data which can be used to target development programs to appropriate areas, 3) provide baseline data with which the sponsoring organizations can evaluate the impact of their own development activities.

The survey design originally involved a 1-in-12 systematic random sampling design but was modified to 1-in-14 households due to budget shortfalls. Originally the survey was meant to visit 1,667 households, but this number was reduced to 1,586 households. Further, the actual population of the *commune* of Jean Makout turned out to be larger than anticipated. The larger population size meant that another 155 houses should have been surveyed. In total, 235 of a sample population of 1,823 households should have been surveyed but were not. The total sample size ended up as 1,586 households; of this figure 46 households were either vacant or interviewers were never able to locate the necessary respondents for at least one of the questionnaires.

The household head or spouse of the household head was the required respondent. In 4 percent of cases no household respondent was located. A household was defined as a building in which people sleep; household members were defined as people who reportedly sleep in the house more than they sleep elsewhere. All households in the *commune* (22,827) were counted and physically marked with a number. From the resulting lists, 1 in every 14 households was systematically chosen using a random starting point. Longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates of the selected households were subsequently recorded using global positioning system (GPS) devices. Loading the information into SPSS spreadsheets involved some 1.5 million separate entries (observations). The original data entry was accomplished

in the first two weeks of December 1997 by the survey staff and secretaries working for the local NGOs. Data was subsequently entered a second time by the researcher and hired assistants during the period January to May 1998.

The four other surveys, all funded by the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Florida, and a grant from the National Science Foundation, were:

#### The Opinion Survey

This survey involved revisiting 136, or approximately 9 percent, of the households in the Baseline Survey. Jean Makout was divided into 12 geographical zones, five zones were selected randomly and an approximately equal number of households were randomly chosen from each of the geographical clusters (~28 households per cluster). The sample was stratified by gender. In 68 cases the female household head or the spouse of the male head was interviewed and in 68 cases the male head or her spouse was interviewed. There were two male interviewers and two female interviewers, all locally born and raised and hired based on competency demonstrated during the Baseline Survey. Male interviewers visited male respondents and female interviewers visited female respondents. Only one respondent was chosen per household. A total of 9 days were spent in the field. Interviewers recorded responses to key questions on cassette tapes. The researcher traveled and stayed with the interviewers and, using the cassette recordings, monitored interviewer performance daily. Transcription of the interviews began in the field and continued for several weeks after the survey ended. Fifty percent of the recorded interviews were reviewed; approximately 30 percent were transcribed.

#### Household Labor Demands Survey

In an effort to develop ethnographically dependable profiles of household labor demands and needs, approximately 12 visits were made to each of five Jean Makout *lokalités* (rural neighborhoods). The *lokalités* were chosen for ecological variability: 1) dry foothill, 2) dry mountain, 3) humid mountain, 4) humid plain, and 5) dry coastal zone. One to three days were spent per visit in each *lokalité*. Information was gathered by the old-fashioned anthropological technique of hanging out, tagging along, watching, and “whyng” people to the point of annoyance.

#### Livestock and Garden Survey

The Livestock and Garden Survey was carried out in two communities, one in a semi-humid mountainous community ( $n = 50$ ) and another in a humid plain community ( $n = 56$ ). The goal was to measure the strength of the relationship between the number of children and the number of animals and gardens per household. This survey was necessary because 1) it is important

to the thesis to provide a concrete measure of the role of children in household livelihood strategies (the relationship between the number of children present in particular households and the number of livestock and gardens tended by household members); 2) in the Baseline Survey and the Opinion Survey farmers gave obviously misleading reports regarding livestock and crop yields; and 3) it was discovered that respondents in the Baseline Survey were including in their enumeration of household members children who were away at school in the village or in the city – the inclusion of these children misrepresented the actual number of available child laborers. In order to obtain dependable data, two communities were chosen not at random but because they were the home communities of a Baseline Survey supervisor's parents. The supervisor and his family knew everyone in these two communities and was able to independently verify details relating to livestock, gardens, and the number of children present in the house. Expected crop yields were also measured during this survey.

### Polygyny Survey

Because it is known that *de facto* polygyny is widespread in the Jean Makout, it was hypothesized that past and present polygynous behavior of men is somehow related to the value of children and therefore an important issue in the research. But inquiry into trends in polygyny were inadequately addressed in both the Baseline and the Opinion surveys. In the Baseline Survey, a question regarding current polygyny was included but there was no question regarding past polygyny. Past and present polygyny were measured during the Opinion Survey but only men were asked about past polygyny – wives were not asked about their husbands' past polygynous behavior – and the sample was too small to give a statistically reliable image of polygyny over the course of a Jean Makout man's lifetime. Thus, a 300-respondent polygyny survey was carried out using the same supervisor and in the same two communities as the Animal and Garden Survey.

Two other small polygyny surveys were carried out, one focusing on 41 skilled craftsmen and another among 16 male shamans (known as *bokors* or alternatively *hougans*). The areas for these surveys were chosen as a matter of convenience. Being familiar with people in the area, I was able to confidently substantiate reports by consulting with more than one local informant.

Additional sources of information were:

### Clinics and NGO Reports

Data on interbirth intervals, contraceptive use, and health status were also garnered from local clinics, hospitals, churches, and NGOs working in the area. The most notable resource for regional health data was Faith Medical Clinic in Mare Rouge, physically outside the *commune* of Jean Makout but

with some 50 percent of its clientele coming from within the borders of the *commune*. Healthcare workers with the French NGO ID also provided health information and made reports available, as did the directors of PISANO and AAA. Staff at CARE International also provided access to reports and information on food-aid and ongoing projects.

There were three survey reports that were especially important for comparison and validation of the data collected in the field. CARE International had previously performed two large surveys in the region. The first, conducted in 1994, was a 1,400-household, 26-cluster random survey covering the entire northwest *département* of Haiti (which includes Jean Makout). The second CARE survey, in 1996, was a follow-up to the earlier survey. PISANO implemented a 1,300-household, five-cluster random survey in 1990, that largely covered the *commune* of Jean Makout. The references for the respective survey reports can be found in Schwartz 2000.

JORGE LUIS CHINEA

FRANCOPHOBIA AND INTERIMPERIAL POLITICS IN  
LATE BOURBON PUERTO RICO:  
THE DUKE OF CRILLÓN Y MAHÓN'S FAILED  
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SPANISH CROWN, 1776-1796

Commenting on the poor state of the Puerto Rican economy, Alejandro O'Reilly's 1765 *memoria* brought to light the island's vast, untilled lands and tropical climate but decried the absence of agricultural exploitation. To remedy this, he called upon "the establishment of a few wealthy men capable of setting up sugarmills [as] indispensable for the prompt development of this island" (O'Reilly 1972:394). The colonists, he added, should be granted land in proportion to the slaves and dependents they bring along. By such means, he sought to emulate nearby Saint Croix, a Danish colony that had experienced remarkable economic development after adopting a similar plan (O'Reilly 1972:391-95). The clergyman-historian Iñigo Abad y Lasierra could not agree more. In 1788, he urged Spain to finance the transport of colonists to the Hispanic Caribbean and to furnish them with land, tools, and seeds. In his opinion, the duty-free import of slaves was just as crucial (Abbad y Lasierra 1959:165). Another observer concurred, noting that slave-holding colonists would be especially valuable since "scarcely half a dozen persons in Puerto Rico [were] able to purchase twenty negroes each" (Aimes 1907:41-42). Spain's Council of the Indies summed up consensus when it declared that, "no agricultural establishment can be undertaken in America ... without the funds to clear, sow and cultivate the land, and to support the [farmers] until their toil yields harvests to be free from debt and subsist on their own."<sup>1</sup>

In Spanish royal circles, the notion that the economic fate of the Hispanic Caribbean rested on the infusion of external human and material resources was problematic. Spain had not been able to fill these needs, but securing them by embracing foreign colonization and mercantile schemes could leave

1. [Real] Academia de la Historia to the Principe de la Paz, c. 1797, leg. 2378, Sección de Santo Domingo (henceforth Santo Domingo), Archivo General de Indias (henceforth AGI), Seville, Spain.

the Indies exposed to rival European powers. In 1776 and 1783, the Spanish Crown “experimented” by offering land and other incentives to Irish and French Catholics from the nearby non-Hispanic Caribbean willing to relocate to the sparsely populated and economically marginal colony of Trinidad. Regulations were put into place to attract “safe,” economically viable colonists and simultaneously deter undesirable ones from slipping into Spanish soil. As a result of this effort, the last two decades of Spanish colonial rule (circa 1777-1797) witnessed a monumental demographic and economic boom. Trinidad’s population expanded from 3,432 to 17,718 and the value of its agricultural exports increased from 3,000 to 1,588,000 pesos (Newson 1979:139, 147). Unfortunately for Spain, England seized Trinidad in 1797. No new ventures of such a scale would be undertaken before the implementation in Puerto Rico of the 1815 *Cédula de Gracias* (Chinea 2005).

In contrast to Trinidad, Spanish policy toward foreigners in late eighteenth-century Puerto Rico was very restrictive. The Spanish Crown issued residential permits and/or free land grants to a handful of enterprising foreign immigrants, such as Jaime O’Daly, the Count of Delage, Duke of Havre de Croy, Andres Juan de la Rocque, the brothers Julio and Enrique O’Neill, Juan Jaboco Gahn, and Thomas Armstrong. A 1778 royal *cédula* also authorized planters in Puerto Rico to recruit a limited number of skilled, Catholic workers with training in plantation agriculture from the nearby non-Hispanic Caribbean. Some of these cases, or others similar to them, have been widely noted in the published historical literature.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, several obscure requests for setting up foreign-controlled operations in Puerto Rico during this period remain largely overlooked. Among them are proposals for establishing *colonias* of Germans, Franco-Dominguans, and Irish Catholics, some of which also solicited slave trading and mercantile privileges (Hull 1980:167).<sup>3</sup>

This essay explores one of these lesser-known projects: Louis Balbes des Berton’s failed attempt to persuade the Spanish Crown to grant him liberal commercial and colonizing concessions in Puerto Rico. Known mostly by his title as the Duke of Crillón y Mahón, Balbes des Berton was an aristocrat who sought to get rich in the Indies. In 1776, the Spanish monarch Charles III granted him a substantial donation of land in Puerto Rico, together with the right to import the necessary equipment and technical personnel to put it into cultivation. The significance and controversial character of this case may be gleaned from the multiple, copious dossiers it generated. They contain much information about the allocation, dimensions, appraisal, type, condition, location, and potential utility of the lands in question, all of which

2. See, for example, Picó 1986:142.

3. Knight of Losevil to King, April 13, 1789, leg. 2393, Santo Domingo, AGI; petition of Jacques Concanon, 1761, leg. 6948, exp. 11, Sección de Estado (henceforth Estado), AGS; petition of Juan Tuite, leg. 6961, exp. 14, Estado, AGS.

sheds light on agrarian conditions in Puerto Rico at that time. Perhaps for this reason, most investigators have focused too narrowly on that angle and ignored the larger colonial and interimperial context in which the Spanish Crown weighed such proposals.<sup>4</sup>

#### BOURBON REFORMISM AND AGRICULTURAL EXPLOITATION

The Crillón affair is a direct outcome of a series of eighteenth-century reorganizational measures that would come to be known collectively as the Bourbon reforms. Designed to overhaul the Spanish American colonial empire, the program of renewal focused special attention on those regions most vulnerable to foreign intrusions and least able to cover their administrative and military upkeep. Early eighteenth-century Puerto Rico matched this profile. In the aftermath of the Caribbean phase of the Spanish exploration, conquest, and colonization in the Americas, the island became little more than a penal colony, defensive post, and refueling station for the Spanish naval convoys. As Spanish colonization shifted to the mineral enclaves of Mexico and Peru, England, Denmark, France, and Holland gradually carved out their own colonies in the Caribbean. For the next two hundred years, they seized the Bahamas chain, Jamaica, western Hispaniola, and the eastern Antilles. Concurrently, illegal, widespread trading between the British, French, and Dutch Caribbean and the Spanish colonies developed (López 1980:25-47). In 1762 the British occupied Havana, gaining temporary control of a major Spanish military bastion in the Caribbean and disrupting mercantile operations centered on the port city.

The Bourbon reforms sought to put an end to such territorial and economic encroachments and bring these peripheral areas into closer alignment with Spanish imperial objectives. Its telltale signs in Puerto Rico, particularly after about 1750, could not be more clear: concerted efforts to promote the commercial cultivation of tobacco, coffee, sugar, and other cash crops; stepped-up attempts to eradicate vagrancy, apprehend deserters and maroons, and immobilize and harness the labor of artisans and peasants; accelerated urbanization; large-scale importation of bonded African workers; generous immigration incentives extended to politically “safe” foreigners; crackdown on illegal traders; reorganization of island militias and updating of defensive fortifications; statistical and scientific studies of the island’s natural and

4. See Coll y Toste 1914:280-81; Caro de Delgado 1963; Szászdi 1962:161; Gil-Bermejo García 1970:301-19; Godreau & Giusti 1993:488, 493-94; Moscoso 1999:245.

human resources; and the implementation of fiscal and mercantile regulations to bind Puerto Rico tighter to the Hispanic American economy.<sup>5</sup>

#### BACKGROUND TO THE LAND GRANT

Unprecedented changes of this magnitude on an island long coveted by Spain's European rivals for its central Caribbean location and fertile soil were bound to attract considerable attention (Morales Carrión 1974:60-61, 72-73). Lured by the prospects of fat profits, a trickle of enterprising colonists from Europe and the Lesser Antilles set out for the Spanish Antilles to invest in commercial agriculture. The Duke of Crillón y Mahón was one of the prominent fortune seekers of this age. French by nationality and Italian by heritage, Crillón was born in 1717. He joined the Spanish military in 1758 and enjoyed the rank of Teniente General in 1775. Awarded the *Gran Cruz de la Orden de Carlos III* in 1781, a year later he retook the Spanish Mediterranean island-colony of Menorca, which the British had wrested from Spain during the War of Spanish Succession. In addition to possessing the duchy of Mahón and the aristocratic title of *Grande de España de Primera Clase*, he served as Captain General of Valencia and Murcia from 1785 to his death in 1796 (Terrón Ponce 1998:14-23). Toward the end of his life, he authored a book recounting his military career (Crillón 1791).

"Desiring to contribute to the greater wellbeing of the state as a loyal vassal of His Majesty, hence applying his assets to promote agriculture," in late 1775 the duke petitioned the Crown for land in Santo Domingo. He asked for six *leguas* of land around the Hispaniola regions of Neiba, Gonaive, and Monte Christi – all near the border with French Saint Domingue. These regions, he maintained, were sparsely settled and abandoned because their settlers had no means, skills, or inclination to make them productive, or no one legitimately owned them. To this end, he proposed relocating to Santo Domingo at his expense to set an example of hard work and simultaneously place secured limits on the border with French Saint Domingue.<sup>6</sup>

Judging by the negative reaction of the Spanish Crown, Crillón misperceived the political climate of interimperial relations in the Caribbean. Spain had been concerned for some time with French expansionism in Hispaniola. What began in the middle of the seventeenth century as a buccaneers' nest in the western tip of Hispaniola, the French enclave of Saint Domingue,

5. Torres Ramírez 1968; Cambre Mariño 1972; Fisher 1981; González Vales 1983; Román Gutiérrez 1998; González-Ripoll Navarro 1999:45-77.

6. Crillón to King of Spain, leg. 464, December 4, 1775, Sección de Ultramar (henceforth Ultramar), AGI; leg. 26, Archivo Campomanes (henceforth Campomanes), Fundación Universitaria Española, Madrid, Spain.

eventually occupied just about a third of the island. Unable to effectively check this advance, the Spanish Crown resorted to limiting or barring further foreign settlement. In 1686, 1694, and 1701, the Council cited the need to safeguard the Spanish American trade in blocking Flemish and Irish families from settling Hispaniola (Gutierrez Escudero 1983:58-61). Just five years before Crillón's request, it also rejected the Frenchman Francisco Le-Negre's project for settling 12,000 foreign colonists in Hispaniola. In making this determination, the council claimed that the Le-Negre's offer further corroborated France's aim of taking over the entire island.<sup>7</sup>

Since Crillón's request came just as Spain was conferring with France over competing territorial claims in Hispaniola, the Council of the Indies expressed reservations about his timing. The likelihood that it was a French ploy to grab additional land before the frontier disputes were officially settled did not go unnoticed. The council wondered how the duke's plan to seal off six *leguas* would protect a border that was one hundred and fifty *leguas* in length. Besides, the Laws of the Indies banned foreigners from settling near frontiers and port regions. The body conceded that Santo Domingo desperately needed agricultural workers and other forms of assistance, but concluded that approving the Crillón proposal would only reinforce the French position. It pointed out that although the duke named his Spanish wife and children as beneficiaries of the grant, it was entirely possible for his relatives in France to inherit the properties in their absence. Furthermore, the council was not prepared to displace the local inhabitants by giving away their lands to a foreigner by origin, another clear indication that non-Hispanic colonization in threatened regions of the Indies would not be tolerated. However, in recognition of his naturalized Spanish status and military record, the council gave him the option of choosing land away from the disputed zone or in nearby Puerto Rico.<sup>8</sup> Although Puerto Rico was adjacent to Hispaniola, Spain did not consider it as much an imminent target of French imperial designs in the Caribbean (Gutierrez Escudero 1983:58-64; see also Sevilla Soler 1980).

Crillón picked Puerto Rico, and at once asked for four *leguas* among the *terrenos realengos* (state-owned plots) closest to the port city of San Juan that would be suitable for growing sugar, coffee, indigo, and other crops. The Crown issued him the land grant on September 25, 1776. In accordance with the Laws of the Indies, the concession was not to infringe on the rights of private parties or communal grounds and could not be allocated near port areas. Moreover, it required that foreigners brought to work the land meet

7. Council of the Indies to King, March 29, 1776 and multiple *expedientes* dated c. 1776-1779, leg. 464, Ultramar, AGI; there are additional *expedientes* on Crillón, dated c. 1779-1789, in legs. 2368 and 2393, Santo Domingo, AGI.

8. Apuntaciones del expediente del Duque de Crillón (undated), leg. 26, Campomanes; King to Duke of Crillón, April 11, 1776, leg. 464, Ultramar, AGI.

the conditions for obtaining residence and naturalization, as the case might be. They were not to engage in commerce or any other activity normally forbidden to aliens, except agriculture. The Crown directed the governor of Puerto Rico to assign Crillón the lands with the previous concurrence of the San Juan city council. He was given one year to farm the land. Failing that, the land would revert to the Crown. Only Roman Catholics who pledged allegiance to Spain would be allowed to settle in Puerto Rico to work on or look after the duke's estates.

The Crillón grant came on the heels of a land reform program that started in 1735 when the Spanish Crown began looking closely at agricultural land use in Puerto Rico. Since then, a policy of confiscating and redistributing fallow lots among those willing and able to farm them commercially gradually emerged. Intended to increase agricultural exports, this revenue-generating strategy culminated in a 1778 *cédula* that granted islanders legal titles to the lands they had previously occupied. The process of measuring, parceling out lots, and awarding titles went on throughout the second half of the eighteenth century as *hateros* (cattle ranchers) and *estancieros* (farmers) waged legal battles over control of the land (Gil-Bermejo García 1970:275-76, 303; Moscoso 1999:119-246).

Crillón saw in the 1778 decree and related Bourbon measures to revitalize the Hispanic Caribbean economy a fitting opportunity to press for additional or supplementary concessions that he believed to be compatible with the spirit of the imperial overhaul. Accordingly, he sought to clarify what his grant actually entailed in order to uphold the royal intent and preclude any potential misunderstandings later on. Since the Crown had granted him four *leguas en cuadro*, he reasoned that each measured one *legua* in length by one *legua* in width. Hence, he asked that the Crown declare that his grant comprised sixteen squared *leguas* in total. Next, he pointed out that the vast size of his donation would necessitate additional time and effort before he could place the lands under cultivation. Therefore, he requested that the one-year time limit for tilling them start once he broke ground.

The duke also found the word "successors" employed in the grant language to be ambiguous, since it was often applied only to relatives as opposed to conventional heirs. For that reason, he also asked that the Crown unequivocally affirm his right to do whatever he pleased with his properties, including his right to name any representatives – be they relatives or not – as long as they met all the other criteria stipulated in the grant. To this effect, he indicated that the French Guyanese Company was ready to finance and administer the project and that he had secured the *colonos* needed to farm the estates. To reassure both parties, he outlined what historian A.R. Caro de Delgado (1963) has correctly labeled as an ill-advised, ostentatious attempt to transform the land grant into his private feudal state. In essence, his plan called for selling the lands in smaller lots to either Spanish or foreign colonists, over whom the duke would

exercise certain rights. For instance, the colonists would be free to sell their lands to whomever they wished but not before notifying Crillón or his successors, who would have a preferential option to re-acquire the properties. They would also have to agree to purchase all agricultural implements and slaves from the duke and to pay him an annual tribute to be determined at the time of contract. Crillón asked for the unprecedented right to erect churches within his domain, to appoint all ecclesiastical personnel, and to exempt his *colonos* from military service for a twenty-five-year period.

**“THESE TYPES OF WORKERS ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL BASE OF  
FARMING IN THE AMERICAS”**

With these words, Crillón broached the subject of bonded Africans, which had made it possible for Saint Domingue and much of the eastern Antilles to fill the European and North American demand for sugar, coffee, and a variety of other tropical staples. Servile labor had also been used extensively in the Hispanic Caribbean during the short-lived mining boom of the early sixteenth century. It resurfaced gradually in the 1700s, but for a variety of reasons none of the early eighteenth-century attempts to fill the growing demand for African captives in Spanish America proved satisfactory. Wartime conditions hindered the Spaniard Miguel Iriarte's 1760 *asiento* or slave importation contract calling for the delivery of 15,000 captives to the Hispanic Caribbean over a ten-year period. A new agreement signed in 1765 and modified in 1768 transferred the *asiento* to the Aguirre-Aristégui Company (which became known as the *Compañía de Asiento de Negros*), co-owned by Iriarte and several other business associates. The new accord set aside 500 to 600 slaves to Puerto Rico, which was designated as the main depot for slave shipments to other Spanish American destinations. The partnership landed just over 12,500 captives in San Juan between 1766 and 1770, but nearly all were sold outside Puerto Rico (Díaz Soler 1970:84-90).<sup>9</sup>

The duke recounted how Spain's determined efforts to promote agricultural production in Puerto Rico had been unsuccessful. It chartered the Barcelona Company in the 1750s, endowing it with special privileges, to encourage Puerto Rican growers to ship their products on Spanish carriers. But the enterprise could not stay afloat when the projected volume of agricultural exports proved insufficient for investors to make a profit. The *Compañía de Asiento de Negros* preferred to sell slaves on a cash basis, a practice that prevented most planters in Puerto Rico from buying them. Poor sales in Puerto Rico were a

9. Mapa Abreviado de los Negros introducidos en Puerto Rico por el Asiento ... de Aguirre Arístegui y Compañía ... 1766 [to] 1770 ... March 25, 1772, leg. 2516, Santo Domingo, AGI.

major consideration in the decision to transfer its operations to Havana, which had a larger, more lucrative slave market. He believed that such obstacles could ultimately cripple, if not destroy, his future agricultural project. First, he would have to inform the *Compañía* each and every time he wished to purchase slaves, sell his crops in anticipation to have the currency at hand to make the transaction, and wait until enough buyers in Puerto Rico placed similar orders to sway the slave-trading contractors to make a stop in San Juan. He therefore requested authorization to import the slaves on his own. The *Compañía* would suffer no adverse consequences, he declared, since his slave-trading permit would “add the advantage … of promoting the cultivation of the island, and thus [trigger] a greater consumption of slaves.”<sup>10</sup>

It seems that nothing came out of the above appeal, or perhaps the Crown purposely ignored it, prompting the duke to repeat it two years later. This time he submitted a detailed, five-chapter proposal to cover all facets of his slave trading project, such as its organization, administration, and security. Chapter four dealt specifically with the exploitation of captives in agricultural work. They “are to till the land … [their acquisition] is … one of the most indispensable elements … for the success [of his agricultural enterprise].”<sup>11</sup> To ensure the right number, quality, and price of slaves, Crillón asked the Crown for authorization, effective May 1, 1779, to import “into Puerto Rico under foreign flag the number of slaves considered necessary for the use of his plantation and those of his *colonos* and farmers.”<sup>12</sup> Although the Crown had granted individual slave-trading licenses to selective planters in the past, as of 1779 it was still under contract with the *Compañía de Negros*. Even if the Crown had been willing to grant an exception, Crillón further requested the right to sell any spare slaves to other parties in Puerto Rico, as well as to the other Spanish American colonies. In essence, the duke sought to transform the original land grant – intended specifically to boost royal revenues in a marginal Spanish colony – into his private *asiento*.

Having laid out his case for African slavery, Crillón then proceeded to spell out how he would manage the bonded workers, whom he described “by nature of a harsh, bad condition and inclined in the extreme to gossip, idleness and laziness, and even … to savagery and cruelty.”<sup>13</sup> He believed that such traits, when combined with the disproportionately small number of Whites, usually not more than the four or five that typically led and lived with crews of two hundred or more slaves, would endanger the entire operation. Whites might be placed in harm’s way unless the captives were “infused [with] a certain kind of terror [, a] panic to frighten and subordinate them to the proper obedience

10. Crillón to King of Spain, San Ildefonso, September 23, 1776, leg. 464, Ultramar, AGI.

11. Crillón to King of Spain, Madrid, July 30, 1778, leg. 464, fol. 158, Ultramar, AGI.

12. Crillón to King of Spain, Madrid, July 30, 1778, leg. 464, fols. 158-59, Ultramar, AGI.

13. Crillón to King of Spain, Madrid, July 30, 1778, leg. 464, fol. 160, Ultramar, AGI.

and subjection.”<sup>14</sup> Arguing that it was in the masters’ best interests to ensure the welfare of their slaves, he would “discipline” them prudently and discreetly according to their unique temperaments. Nevertheless, many would still refuse to work, fear, and respect their masters or complain to the authorities when reprimanded for disobeying orders. To prevent such “grave inconveniences,” he asked that no slave grievances against masters be admitted by the courts of justice for the first fifteen years, “until they have given proof of their domesticity and [work?] regularity.”<sup>15</sup> In the meantime they would live under the immediate supervision of an adjudicator within the estate and were required to abide by a new set of rules that Crillón would implement as he saw fit.

Since *bozales* (African-born captives) would undergo a seasoning process and extensive training in all aspects of plantation production, he expected them to appreciate fourfold or even higher in value over time. Considering the additional money and time used up to transform the so-called “brutes” to manageable, skilled individuals, selling or redeeming them at their original purchase price would turn masters into mere educators or trainers of slaves for someone else’s benefit. He reasoned that this might happen under the current system of *coartación* or self-purchase, which could motivate slaves acting out of self-interest, revenge, greed, or those seeking to emulate others to avail themselves of this provision. Therefore, he asked that his slaves be exempted from the self-emancipation regulations for the first twenty-five years.<sup>16</sup>

Thirty-two articles dealt specifically with the sale of the captives. Crillón asked to be allowed to conduct his slave-trading business for a twenty-five-year period. To this end, he offered to establish a slave depot – together with housing units, medical facilities, and provision grounds – in Puerto Rico. Commissioned Spanish and foreign ships would haul in the captives to be sold on credit, cash, or in exchange for local products to the estates owned by Crillón, his *colonos*, private parties on the island, or to other parts of Spanish America. He also requested that the captives and their supplies be exempted from the various import and sales duties, except for a one-time, all-inclusive two percent tax. The duke would have the option of selling captives to foreigners in the event sales in the Spanish colonies sagged. These transactions would be governed by the regulations of 1778 *comercio libre* (free trade) which sought to increase Spain’s economic participation in its American colonies (see Fisher 1992 and Sonesson 2002:32-33). Francisco de Llano y San Ginés, a resident of the Spanish port city of Cádiz, was to have oversight over the entire slave-trading business.<sup>17</sup>

14. Crillón to King of Spain, Madrid, July 30, 1778, leg. 464, fol. 160, Ultramar, AGI.

15. Crillón to King of Spain, Madrid, July 30, 1778, leg. 464, fol. 161, Ultramar, AGI.

16. Crillón to King of Spain, Madrid, July 30, 1778, leg. 464, Ultramar AGI.

17. Crillón to King, Madrid, July 31, 1778 and December 30, 1778, leg. 464, Ultramar, AGI.

## METROPOLITAN OVERSEERS INTERVENE

The Crown forwarded the request to the *Junta de Provisión General de Negros*, a ministerial committee that dealt with matters pertaining to the slave trade in Spanish America. The *Junta* characterized Crillón's new demands as so "warped that they not only inflate and deform the essence of his claims, but also the manner in which they are proposed, and misrepresent the substance of the [original land] concession."<sup>18</sup> Although the duke's plan treated both the subject of his land grant and planned slave-trading project at length, the Council focused almost all of its sharp criticism on the land donation. Among other things, it accused Crillón of "running away" from his responsibilities to the grant; substituting *operarios* (workers) with *colonos* (colonists), and thus altering the grant's language and intent; further contravening the provisions and spirit of the 1778 *cédula* which required all newly titled proprietors to farm their land within one year of taking possession; twisting the language of his grant in an attempt to grab more land than was originally allotted to him; making ill-timed demands, including a request to purchase additional land that went against the royal order of dividing up the territory of Puerto Rico among as many farmers as possible; attempting to establish *mayorazgos*, or entailed estates, without royal authorization and in which he would have sole feudal power; illegally seeking to transfer his business interests in Puerto Rico to the French Guyanese Company, a foreign-owned enterprise "for whom the [King's] subjects would become mere dayworkers";<sup>19</sup> and trying to take over the entire land mass of Puerto Rico, thus depriving His Majesty of a key defensive post in the Americas.<sup>20</sup>

In contrast to the heavy-handedness noted above, the panel simply dismissed his attempt to slip in a request for slave trading privileges as "inadmissible at this time."<sup>21</sup> Hence, it did not address any of the duke's clauses pertaining to the acquisition, transportation, sale, and treatment of captives.<sup>22</sup> "It is very odd," it went on, "that the duke would want to become a slave trader."<sup>23</sup>

18. [Junta de Provisión General de Negros] to King of Spain, Madrid, September 6, 1779, leg. 464, fols. 212-13, Ultramar, AGI.

19. [Junta de Provisión General de Negros] to King of Spain, Madrid, September 6, 1779, leg. 464, fols. 220-21, Ultramar, AGI.

20. The firm in question is likely the Company of the Coast of Africa, which was renamed the Guyana Company in 1776 (Thomas 1997:277).

21. [Junta de Provisión General de Negros] to King of Spain, Madrid, September 6, 1779, leg. 464, fols. 223, Ultramar, AGI.

22. For information on the Crown's attempt to regulate the treatment of slaves, see the aborted 1784 *Código Carolino* discussed by Lucena Salmoral 1996:18-19.

23. [Junta de Provisión General de Negros] to King of Spain, Madrid, September 6, 1779, leg. 464, fols. 223, Ultramar, AGI.

He was directed to formalize it separately from the land grant, leave out other interested parties, and abide by the procedures established for such purposes. In the meantime, he would have to acquire slaves as everyone else in Puerto Rico did, presumably through the *Compañía de Asiento de Negros*. In sum, the *Junta* concluded that, “This petition harbors grave inconveniences, and there is no instance of a like concession, neither in Spain nor in the Indies, undoubtedly because of its harmful effect on our constitution.”<sup>24</sup> Since the governor of Puerto Rico had not yet allocated him the full donation, the *Junta* advised the Crown to give Crillón a two-year extension, which was to take effect in 1784, to put all his lands under cultivation.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the pointed rebuff, the duke pressed on. On September 1784, he applied for and received permission to let his French agents Santiago Alfonse and Simón Esteban LeBlanc relocate to Puerto Rico from Saint Domingue with two retainers, thirty slaves, and some plantation equipment. Not long thereafter, he resubmitted the previously rejected petition to allow him to transfer some of his properties to third parties, so long as they were Roman Catholics and pledged allegiance to Spain, and asked for authorization to export timber harvested on his properties that was not needed in Puerto Rico. The former was denied again and the latter tabled until officials in Puerto Rico assigned Crillón his entire donation and finalized the general distribution of *terrenos realengos, incultos* (untilled lands), and *baldíos* (unoccupied or untitled lands), which was moving at a snail’s pace.

Three years later, in 1787, he asked the Crown to extend him a loan, repayable in three to four years, to help get his agricultural project off the ground. The council expressed serious reservations about the subsidy. It observed that he had brought in only five workers of the anticipated 400 to 500 needed to tend to his four *leguas* but had imported plenty of plantation implements and supplies duty-free while continuing to give top priority to his other holdings in Saint Domingue. Besides, it considered the amount of the loan insufficient to accomplish his objectives. In the opinion of the Council, his track record so far strongly suggested that he might just default on the loan and use it as yet another excuse for delaying farming his lands. As with earlier requests, this one was also turned down.<sup>26</sup>

Seemingly disregarding the aforementioned, on May 31, 1789 he re-submitted the loan request disguised as a petition for a 60,000 peso line of credit to buy 300 *bozales* for his lands in Puerto Rico. In support of the advance,

24. [Junta de Provisión General de Negros] to King of Spain, Madrid, September 6, 1779, leg. 464, fols. 224, Ultramar, AGI.

25. Council of the Indies to the governor of Puerto Rico, San Lorenzo, October 14, 1779, leg. 464, Ultramar, AGI; Junta de [Provisión General de] Negros to King, September 6, 1779, leg. 2393, Santo Domingo, AGI.

26. Council of the Indies resolution, May 20, 1792, leg. 464, Ultramar, AGI.

which he promised to reimburse in six years, he cited a royal decree of April 12, 1786 by which the Crown agreed to bankroll the acquisition of 1,500 African captives for settlers in Santo Domingo. The Crown acknowledged the purchase but explained that it was executed with the slave-trading firm of Baker and Dawson, whose contract with the *Real Hacienda* had since expired. In either case, a subsequent 1789 decree liberalized slave trading with Spanish America, rendering state intervention in this matter unnecessary. Besides, the outlay might prompt other equally deserving landowners to seek similar concessions. But before the Crown could notify Crillón that his loan application had been denied, he took the impulsive step of forwarding it an addendum outlining a loan repayment schedule!<sup>27</sup>

Sensing that Crillón was quickly running out of options and that the donation was on the verge of expiring, the Council asked for an update on the grant from Puerto Rico's governor, Juan Dabán y Noguera. The official replied that he had been taking legal steps to expedite the Crillón donation when the Crown appointed Julián Díaz de Saravia, *fiscal* from the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, to oversee the land distribution program mandated by the 1778 *cédula*. He conveyed the Council's directive to Saravia, who immediately set to work on his commission. The thick, forested, and impenetrable nature of the terrain, constant rains, demarcation hurdles, and the lack of trained surveying personnel and equipment hindered his effort. Saravia estimated that it would take four years to complete the job. But after only eight months of measuring and parceling out lots in the settlements of Humacao, Fajardo, and Loíza, Saravia was promoted to the Audiencia of Caracas and abruptly left Puerto Rico. Before departing, he reported that Crillón's lands in the said towns consisted of forty three *caballerías*, of which fifteen were located in Humacao and thirty in Fajardo. Of these, the first fifteen in Humacao had been officially handed over to his agent Santiago Alfonse in late October 1786. The duke's representative began farming but pulled back claiming that Crillón had yet to deliver the additional funds that he had promised.<sup>28</sup>

Frustrated with the meager results, the duke fired back. On March 28, 1792, he complained to the Crown that the real hold-off stemmed from the multiple surveying snags and suspension of the Saravia assignment. He

27. [Exmo Sr. Baylio Fray Don Antonio Valdes y Bazán?] to Duke of Crillón, June 22, 1789, leg. 2368, Santo Domingo, AGI.

28. Council of the Indies resolution, May 20, 1792, leg. 464, Ultramar, AGI. Since one *caballería* equals about 200 acres or the same in *cuerdas*, by that measurement the duke's donation may have been about 18,500 *cuerdas*. That quantity harmonizes with the figure of 19,000 *cuerdas* given in Caro de Delgado's essay (1963:62-63) but is far below the 40,000 *cuerdas* reported in the work by Godreau & Giusti (1993:488). Islandwide, his donation totaled between 85 and 94 *caballerías* spread out in the towns of Naguabo, Fajardo, Luquillo, Loíza, Isabela, and Pepino (Gil-Bermejo García 1970:316).

also pointed the finger at Alfonse, to whom he had allegedly delivered over 150,000 pesos over a fourteen-year period. Unfortunately for Crillón, the agent passed away in 1790 without advancing the project or taking ownership of the whole four *leguas*. Notwithstanding the setbacks, the duke managed to line up an affluent business partner and a new designee to get back on track. In order to go forward, he asked the Crown to approve a new, eleven-point proposal based on royal *cédulas* that sought to revamp Trinidad's economy and authorized the importation of enslaved Africans into Spanish America. In it, he repeated many of the same demands that the Council of the Indies had already rejected, such as permission to sell or transfer his properties to Spanish and foreign parties, recruit *colonos* overseas and collect personal tribute from them, and import slaves duty-free for a decade, that is, for four more years beyond the six-year window of opportunity decreed on November 24, 1791.<sup>29</sup> Now, he also solicited that his trustees, consignees, and *colonos* be exempted from all obligations to the state for the same interval, and be allowed to acquire provisions, agricultural implements, and ships either in Spain, its colonies, or in foreign markets.

Despite his tenacity, metropolitan watchdogs resisted all attempts to surrender treasured ecclesiastical prerogatives, confer feudal rights akin to the then-extinguished *encomienda*, and grant extraordinary exemptions from taxes and military services. As the Council of Indies observed, such concessions would have given Crillón a considerable, unfair advantage over all other Spanish subjects and would shortchange the royal coffers. The Council of State concurred, adding that he could sell his lands only to foreign Catholics who took up residence in the Spanish dominions. It directed the governor of Puerto Rico to finalize allocating the duke's grant within two years and gave Crillón four years from that point forward to cultivate the estates or forfeit them. In the event the governor could not find enough land to complete the full donation, it suggested transferring the deed to either southern Guyana or Trinidad. Crillón eventually pursued one of these options by filing a petition for a concession of land in Trinidad shortly after the 1783 *Cédula de Población y Comercio* (literally, a decree for the promotion of colonization and commerce) was made public (see Borde 1982:214).

Once again, however, the Council of State rejected the duke's plea to obtain the same special economic and political incentives given to foreign immigrants in Trinidad. Those concessions, the panel argued, were specific to the unique circumstances of the eastern Caribbean island which, unlike Puerto Rico, was nearly deserted. The Council of the Indies went even further. It called attention to a recent royal order forbidding the settlement of citizens of Great Britain, Holland, and Denmark in Cuba, and recommended that the ruling be put into operation to Puerto Rico and applied to French sub-

29. Spain's slave-trading efforts for this period are discussed in Díaz Soler (1953:84-99).

jects as well. By contrast, the Council of State found his request for extending the royal dispensation to import slaves from six to ten years reasonable as long as it was not abused. He could haul in as many *bozales* as he needed for his lands, but not for speculation.<sup>30</sup>

The Crown relayed its decision to Crillón on July 19, 1792, but to its surprise he continued to pursue the matter. On May 15, 1793, he proposed selling one-half of his grant in Puerto Rico to the Barcelona-based British company of Herries, Keith, and Stembor. The firm reputedly could muster 600,000 pesos by floating six hundred stocks valued at 1,000 pesos a piece to both Spanish citizens and foreigners. The Crown would have to agree not to seize the company's assets for twenty-one years, even during wartime. In turn, the firm would dispatch three representatives in Puerto Rico to farm the land, import the necessary equipment and slaves, and ship out the agricultural products to Barcelona on private or chartered ships. It would pay out annual dividends of up to ten percent to each stockholder. Of the balance, one-third of the profits would be turned over to Crillón and the rest reinvested in the company. The Crown declined his latest offer.<sup>31</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Despite two decades of unrelenting planning, proposal writing, and countless appeals, Crillón died in 1796 before he could plow his fields or carry out any of his other related ventures. The archival paper trail makes it abundantly clear that he lacked both the financial and royal backing to successfully bring the project to fruition. While he unquestionably bit off more than he could chew, it is also clear that Hispanophiles in the inner circle of the Spanish Crown saw him primarily as a foreigner by origin and scrutinized his requests accordingly. Those who resented the Bourbon monarchy's alleged favoritism toward certain non-Hispanics raised a storm of criticism when Crillón landed the duchy of Mahón. From their perspective, "these were unacceptable concessions when bestowed on a foreigner" (Terrón Ponce 1998:23). His successful 1782 military feat in Menorca may have temporarily silenced his detractors, but could do little to lessen Franco-Spanish tensions in the Caribbean. In the eyes of zealous Crown officials, some of his demands involving foreign interests confirmed the dangers of French expansionism in the Hispanic Caribbean and would only have contributed to the troubling erosion of Spanish economic and territorial hegemony in the Indies.

Although many of the objections raised by the Spanish Crown focused on project-specific concerns unrelated to Crillón's French roots *per se*, the fol-

30. Leg. 26, Campomanes, and leg. 464, Ultramar, AGI, various dates.

31. Resolution of the Council of the State, May 24, 1793, leg. 464, Ultramar, AGI.

lowing passage suggests that he was keenly aware that nativistic sentiments could derail his project:

The duke offers to give preference to Spaniards any time settlers come forward, but the gentlemen that make up the Council of State know very well how difficult it is to find natives of ... [Spain] or ... [the Indies] who would want to settle there. It is therefore indispensable to get a hold of foreigners not only as *colonos*, but also as capitalists who might be able to advance the funds and payments needed.<sup>32</sup>

Since xenophobes in Spain believed that foreigners siphoned off the riches of the Indies, took jobs away from Iberians and native “Whites”, introduced heretical or superstitious ideas, and otherwise subverted Spanish authority, the duke tried to allay some of these fears as well:

In order to prevent these *colonos* or slaves from introducing beliefs that would harm the government, the duke ... would recruit people known for their [good] habits and ways of thinking, from friendly, Catholic nations; and would make sure to weed out slaves from islands in which they are rebelling, although the uprising of slaves [in the French Caribbean] has nothing to do with their way of thinking or being insubordinate, but [due] to the [rights given] to their comrades among the people of color, whose condition they have sought to achieve and which their owners have resisted fiercely.<sup>33</sup>

Playing up his reputed loyalty to Spain, Crillón added that his agricultural *colonias* would boost the island’s population and thus provide the surest guarantee for its defense, “since no one defends the land better than those who own or settle it.”<sup>34</sup>

Crillón planned to but did not join the migrant flow headed to the Spanish Antilles.<sup>35</sup> Exercising little control over his affairs across the Atlantic, a small share of his land grant was sold, some was illegally occupied by squatters, and the remainder reverted to the Spanish Crown by the end of the 1850s. Heirs and their legal spokespersons undertook numerous unsuccessful efforts throughout the nineteenth century to reclaim the land (Gil-Bermejo García 1970:301-19). In the end, anti-foreign sentiments in Spain, inter-European imperial politics in the Antillean region, and Crillón’s avarice and public pro-French views combined to thwart his long-sought plans to become both planter and *negrero*.

32. Leg. 26, Campomanes.

33. Leg. 26, Campomanes.

34. Leg. 26, Campomanes.

35. Leg. 409, c. 1781, Sección de Arribadas.

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## POSTCOLONIALISM, IDENTITY, AND THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN ST. LUCIA

Due to its colonial history, St. Lucia is an amalgamation of African, French, and British cultural elements. The French were the first European colonial power to successfully establish permanent settlement on the island, instituting a plantation-based economy. Most St. Lucians today are descendants of enslaved Africans brought to the island by the French from neighboring Martinique, beginning in the mid-seventeenth century (Breen 1844). Although the French lost definitive colonial control over the island to the British in 1814, the legacy of early French colonialism is evident everywhere (Lowenthal 1972). The vast majority of place names are of French origin, Roman Catholicism remains the predominant religion and, most notably, more than 80 percent of St. Lucians speak Kwéyòl – a French-lexicon creole vernacular similar to those spoken in the French *départements d'outre-mer* of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Although Kwéyòl is still widely spoken in St. Lucia, English is the language of education, business, prestige, upward mobility, and international relations, and most St. Lucians also speak English. The British colonial legacy also lives on via St. Lucia's parliamentary form of government and educational system. Moreover, St. Lucia gained political independence from the United Kingdom in 1979 and, since then, the influence of U.S. culture has been on the rise as U.S.-dominated media have spread throughout the island and as greater numbers of St. Lucians have migrated to and from the North American mainland.

In the postcolonial era, Kwéyòl has become the most visible symbol of St. Lucian national identity. This is due in large part to the activities of the pro-Kwéyòl cultural nationalist movement which grew out of organized efforts in the early 1970s to preserve and promote St. Lucia's Afro-French, creole culture (Carrington 1984, Dalphinis 1985, St. Hilaire 2000). As a result of the cultural nationalist movement, many contemporary St. Lucians value Kwéyòl as the homegrown, unique cultural property of their island. At the same time, however, English has become more firmly entrenched in St. Lucia. The continued expansion of the public school system has led to greater

facility in English among St. Lucians across the social spectrum. In postcolonial debates related to St. Lucian national identity within cultural nationalist circles, the focus has been on elevating the social status of Kwéyòl, but never to the detriment of English – highly regarded by St. Lucians of all stripes as a passport to upward and outward mobility.

The postcolonial era in St. Lucia is marked in part by a substitution of sociocultural forms dominant during the colonial period with more localized national variants. On the island, this phenomenon is witnessed by increased support by the public for Kwéyòl as an important symbol of St. Lucian cultural identity and by the national administration as an effective medium of communication with its citizenry – during the colonial period Kwéyòl was denigrated by the elite class and public officials as a language of ignorance and backwardness, and English was the sole language of officialdom. The postcolonial era is also marked by a diminution in anticolonial discourse on the island. As such, pragmatic concerns related to economic development and socioeconomic opportunities for St. Lucian citizens hold sway. Accordingly, the St. Lucian political establishment encourages the continued expansion of full literacy in Standard English through the island's schools, and parents make great sacrifices to ensure their children master the language. Relative to Kwéyòl and English, the current status of French on the island is somewhat ambiguous. French was a spoken language only during the island's early colonial history under slavery. Shortly after emancipation in 1834 French ceased to exist, with English coming to fill former high-status functions of French in island society. In the early 1980s, however, St. Lucian government officials, with financial and logistical support from the French national government, launched a program of expansion of French language instruction in all of the island's high schools. By the mid-1990s, the program was extended to include the last three grades of primary school across the island (Cassan 1996, Dumont 2004). Moreover, in 1984 France established a permanent *Mission de coopération et d'action culturelle* (MCAC) in St. Lucia – including an Alliance Française located in a prominent position on the bay in downtown Castries – to train St. Lucian teachers of French and to teach French to all interested St. Lucians.

The role of Kwéyòl in the formation of postcolonial St. Lucian national and cultural identity is relatively well documented.<sup>1</sup> The predominant role English has played in the colonial and postcolonial economic, political, and cultural life of St. Lucia and St. Lucian attitudes toward the language are

1. Carrington 1984, Dalphinis 1985, Samuel 1992, Frank 1993, Nwenmely 1999, Garrett 2000, St. Hilaire 2000, 2003, and also Lawrence Carrington, 1987, *Creole Discourse and Social Development*, a report prepared for the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean for submission to the International Development Centre.

also documented in the literature.<sup>2</sup> However, the status of French in postcolonial St. Lucian society and the role the language plays in St. Lucian national and cultural identity has received relatively little research attention. St. Lucia became a member of the *Francophonie* in 1981 – participating in its programs of member cooperation and maintaining an active presence in venues of cultural and political representation. In addition, ties between both France and French-speaking Martinique, on the one hand, and St. Lucia, on the other, have solidified since St. Lucian national independence, and school-aged children across St. Lucia now have access to French-language instruction beginning in the primary grades. However, little is known about how St. Lucians perceive French – the language of an early colonial power and former defenders of slavery on the island. This article seeks to fill the research void, examining attitudes toward and cultural identification with the French language among St. Lucians through a postcolonial conceptual framework.

#### METHODOLOGY

A review of literature on postcolonialism, identity, and language, particularly in the Caribbean context, informs, and data from interviews with 100 St. Lucian respondents empirically ground, the research. The interview survey instrument consists of closed- and open-ended questions probing into St. Lucian attitudes toward and knowledge, use, and perceptions of the languages used on the island and into issues related to St. Lucian cultural and national identity. Of the 100 respondents, 60 are from metropolitan Castries and 40 are from rural Monchy. Castries, St. Lucia's capital and largest city, has historically served as the island's motor for socioeconomic, sociocultural, and sociolinguistic change. Sociolinguistic attitudes, patterns of language knowledge, and use and feelings of cultural and national identity held by Castries residents, therefore, are key to understanding the dynamics of St. Lucian identity vis-à-vis the French language islandwide. Monchy, a village located in the mountainous interior of north central St. Lucia, is in the historically most Kwéyòl-dominant district of the island. Residents of the village provide representation of rural St. Lucian perceptions of identity and attitudes toward French. The relatively small number of survey respondents limits the ability to make statistical inferences. In qualitative research, however, data collected from interviews are valuable to gaining a better understanding of the social dynamics under study (Knapik 2006, Myers 2006, Bennett & Colin 2007).

The 100 Castries and Monchy respondents were randomly selected from each location, using census housing unit maps obtained from the St. Lucian

2. Carrington 1967, Valdman 1976, Chaudenson 1979, Vaughan 1979, Alexander 1981, Edward 1989, Isaac 1989, St. Hilaire 2000, 2003, Garrett 2003, 2006.

Statistics Department. A single housing unit map was used for Monchy. Several housing unit maps, selected to include the central city and secondary and tertiary tiers, were used for Castries. The housing unit maps were demarcated for use by census takers. The informants were selected from every fourth house along the path delineated for census takers, alternating from right to left. The first person over the age of 13 to answer the door was asked to participate. If the invitation for participation was refused, the next fourth house on the alternate side of the route was selected. Of the selected 100 informants, 63 were female and 37 were male. In terms of age, 23 of the respondents were under 20 years old, 17 were 20-to-29 years old, 23 were 30-to-39 years old, 11 were 40-to-49 years old, 14 were 50-to-65 years old, and 12 were over 65 years old.

An English-language version of the interview questionnaire was administered to all but four older Monchy residents who did not speak the language – the Kwéyòl-language version of the questionnaire was crafted with the help of native Kwéyòl speakers. Survey questions designed explicitly to capture: 1) informant self-declared knowledge and use of French, 2) informant support for and attitudes toward this language, and 3) informant perceptions of St. Lucian cultural affinity with Martinique versus Barbados, and France versus the United Kingdom provide the primary data underpinning this article. For self-declared knowledge of French, informants were asked, “How well do you speak French? Very well, well, so-so, not well, or not at all.” For self-declared use of French, informants were asked, “How often do you use French? Never, not frequently, sometimes, frequently, or always.” For this last question, informants were asked a follow-up open-ended question, “Under what circumstances do you use French?” Although the use of self-reported proficiency indicators is common in research on language (Wharton 2000, Kim 2006), they can be inaccurate – future studies might attempt to gauge St. Lucians’ English and French proficiency using standardized tests. To measure support for and attitudes toward the language, informants were asked the questions, “Is French or Spanish more important for children in St. Lucia to learn?” and “Should St. Lucians use more, the same amount of, or less French?” Follow-up open-ended questions were asked of the informants to probe why they support or do not support the learning of French versus Spanish among young St. Lucians and St. Lucians generally to use more, the same amount, or less French. Responses to these questions provide empirical evidence on the nexus between the French language and perceptions of national and cultural identity in St. Lucia.

#### POSTCOLONIALISM, IDENTITY, AND LANGUAGE

One of the main themes with which postcolonial theory deals is the development of national identities since the end of colonial rule.<sup>3</sup> Postcolonial

3. Said 1979, 1993, Thiong’o 1986, Bhabha 1994, Narayan 1997, MacPhee 2006.

theorists frequently view language through the dialectic of subjugation versus liberation (Thiong'o 1986). Early postcolonial theory developed in the Caribbean has tended toward the view that the region's European-origin languages – Spanish, French, English, Dutch, or, to a lesser extent, Danish – are tools of oppression, used to subjugate the Antillean creole vernaculars and, importantly, their speakers. Martinique's Frantz Fanon (1952), for example, equates speaking a standard European language with acceptance of the collective consciousness of the colonizer, which tends to associate the colonized with backwardness and ignorance. Catherine Walsh (1991) argues that the conflict caused by the psychological and cultural tension inherent in colonialism plays itself out in a skewed societal bilingualism – the establishment of a linguistic dualism in which the language of the colonizer asserts hegemony over the language of the colonized – and leads to the internalization of a subordinate identity among speakers of noncolonial languages. Aimé Césaire (1956) argues that restoration of a positive racial and cultural identity among colonized people is a way to negate colonialism's psychological and cultural distortions. In this view, the elevation of the social status of the Caribbean creole vernaculars is one way to restore a positive identity.

Derek Gregory (2004) argues that the colonial past is still present in post-colonial societies. The "colonial present" in postcolonial societies manifests itself in the continued stigma attached to native, noncolonial vernaculars. Such negative language attitudes have been especially prevalent in the Caribbean, although in the late 1960s and early 1970s creole cultural nationalism swept through the region seeking to negate and reverse these attitudes (Devonish 1986). Valerie Youssef (2002:184-85) also argues that the colonial past continues to play itself out in the present, via attitudes toward Caribbean creoles and a supposed West Indian alienation from Standard English or French:

It is worthy considering at this point that speakers of Creoles generally regard them as their own, even though they may devalorise them, and that they regard Standards or world languages, such as English and French, as the property of the former colonizers. The notion of rulership affects our minds particularly strongly, and so we focus on a history of Standards as the dominant languages, the languages of the oppressors, and reject them for these very connotations ... (S)ince the colonial past was characterized by widespread dismissal of the Creole language as "broken," it is small wonder that speakers do not feel comfortable regarding "whole" English or French as their own.

Institutions established during the colonial era persist in postcolonial societies and this inheritance has influenced generations coming of age since the actual period of colonization. In much of the formerly colonized world, Kamal Salhi (2004) argues, the most important cultural conflict that occurs is between European-imposed cultural models and indigenous ones. In the

Caribbean, the tension is between European cultural norms and perceptions of Creoleness (Lavia 2006). In St. Lucia, postcolonial discourse has focused on harnessing indigenous knowledge and channeling this knowledge to promote national development (Lingard & Pierre 2006). However, in St. Lucia – as in much of the postcolonial world – such discourse is moored to postcolonial identity politics. These politics seek to subvert cultural hegemonies, but do little to address actual structural inequalities (MacKinnon 2006, Szeto 2006). Postcolonial arguments revolving around issues of social justice also tend to be wedded to identity politics and counterhegemonic ideologies (Hickling-Hudson 2006). As such, postcolonial identity politics may be viewed as a form of aspirational politics (Lingard & Pierre 2006). However, the goal of these politics is seldom attained (Avery 2006).

A condition of postcoloniality is that although national political sovereignty has been attained, indigenous cultural heritages in many parts of the world are in competition with global cultural and linguistic forms (Desai 2006). Intensified economic globalization, with the increased exchange of cultural and other goods and the movement of people and free flow of ideas it engenders, has changed the nature of ethnic, cultural, and national identities as well as patterns of language use. Supranational identities and language practices have emerged to compete with nationally based identities and ways of using language. In the new globalized economy, cultural uniformity has given place to cultural hybridity (Heller 2003). Due to the impact of globalization, identities are frequently diasporic, mobile, and transient (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst 2005). As such, strict dichotomies between the language and cultural property of the (former) colonizer and those of the (formerly) colonized have largely disintegrated. Identity is increasingly viewed as multiple, layered, and dynamic (Henriquez *et al.* 1984, Meinhof & Galasinski 2005, Myers 2006). This is especially true in the West Indies (Knepper 2006). Language, in particular, allows for flexibility in identity. Through linguistic choices made, a person is able to consciously or unconsciously express dual or multiple identities, even in a single sentence (Blom & Gumperz 1972, Warschauer 2000).

Many inhabitants of the contemporary postcolonial world have appropriated the language of the former colonial power and made it their own, claiming ownership of it as a step toward cultural freedom and independence (Fouet & Renaudeau 1988). This is especially true of English – now the global lingua franca. In areas formerly under British colonial control, such as Nigeria and India, for example, new national varieties of English have emerged, replacing the formerly privileged British standard (Mesthrie 2006). This is also increasingly true in the postcolonial Francophone world, where French serves as an intercultural lingua franca. Here, French is no longer viewed as the exclusive cultural property of France (Salhi 2004). The maintenance of French as an official language in much of sub-Saharan Africa has been accompanied by the rise of Francophone identities that are

used not only to distinguish Africans from France, but also from each other (Caitucoli 1998, Bissiri 2001, Ploog 2001). In addition, where French creole vernaculars exist, speakers often do not know whether particular words are creole or French, thereby blurring language-based lines of demarcation in identity formation and facilitating the existence of localized and regionalized Francophone identities in creole societies (de Robillard 2001).

Wendy Knepper (2006:70) states that in the Caribbean “identities, linguistic transformations, religious beliefs, music, cuisine, and aesthetic practices have been shaped by the fragmentation and intermixture of various traditions.” As such, Caribbean efforts to promote a fixed Creoleness as a basis for identity politics are fraught with inherent limitations. In relation to postcolonial West Indian identity politics, Raphaël Confiant<sup>4</sup> highlights the fluid nature of social facts underlying the project: “In the Antilles, the mixing was done by way of diffraction ... and far from erasing the evidence of their origins, the cultural contributions of the four continents were incorporated here and juxtaposed there without ever disappearing as such ... The Creole does not possess a new identity ... but new identities. The phenomenon of creolization invented from all the pieces a multiple identity.” The multiplicity of identity inherent in the Caribbean creole experience and the current postcolonial, global era is accompanied by fluidity in West Indian patterns of language use, perceptions of language utility, and cultural and national identification with language.

Moreover, cultural nationalist movements asserting particular languages or language varieties have to contend with competing discourses, which often undermine partisan language planning efforts. In Quebec, for example, some cultural nationalists have sought to valorize folk elements of Québécois French culture – including uniquely Québécois characteristics of the French language – while others have sought to modernize the Québécois French language to make it more like the international standard and ready for use as a bureaucratic, scientific, and technical medium of expression (Handler 1988). In recent years, moreover, Puerto Ricans of all political inclinations and across the social spectrum have come to increasingly value their culture. As such, there have emerged competing discourses as to what constitutes Puerto Rican cultural identity. In terms of language, some Puerto Ricans hold to the view that Spanish is the only legitimate language of Puerto Rican identity, while others esteem both Spanish and English as constituent elements of Puerto Rican culture (Davila 1997).

In Martinique, although the French language now predominates and many Martiniquans consider themselves French, in literary and academic circles there has existed a movement, albeit marginal, to valorize creole language and

4. Créolité et francophonie: Un éloge de la diversité, *Kapes Kreyol*, available online at <<http://www.palli.ch/~kapeskreyol/articles/diversalite.htm>>.

culture since the late 1970s (Prudent 1993). Among Haitians both in Haiti and in the diaspora, French competes with Haitian Creole as a legitimate language of Haitian cultural identity (Buchanan 1979, Doucet 2000, Youssef 2002). Similarly, among Jamaicans at home and abroad, English and Jamaican Creole are subject to competing discourses on cultural nationalism, although the status of Jamaican Creole has improved considerably as a language of national identity vis-à-vis Standard English over the past two decades (Pryce 1997, Bryan 2004). In Suriname, although the English-based creole, Sranan, rose in status in tandem with growing cultural nationalist sentiment during the 1960s and 1970s, Dutch won out among competing discourses as the official medium of expressing Surinamese nationhood (St. Hilaire 1999, 2001). In Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, however, Papiamento/Papiamentu has assumed a central and increasingly formal, official role as the legitimate expression of the islands' different cultural identities (Razak 1995, Oostindie 2005). However, in most avenues of formal education, which prepares islanders for tertiary educational opportunities in the Netherlands, Papiamento/Papiamentu continues to suffer from subordinate status vis-à-vis Dutch.

#### SOCIOLINGUISTIC PORTRAIT OF ST. LUCIA

In 1911, only 36.4 percent of all St. Lucians claimed to speak English. This proportion climbed to 56.5 percent in 1946.<sup>5</sup> From survey fieldwork conducted on the island more than half a century later, approximately three-quarters of the respondents professed to be able to speak English well or very well and only 2 percent indicated they could not speak the language at all, pointing to great gains in English proficiency since 1946. Initially, these gains did not come at the expense of Kwéyòl, but attest to a rising rate of societal bilingualism.<sup>6</sup> However, by the late 1960s, Albert Valdman (1976) noted that Kwéyòl was in clear regression before English and predicted the language's death in the long term. Later, Lawrence Carrington (1984) also observed that Kwéyòl was waning in extent and influence throughout St. Lucia. Of the surveyed respondents, however, 71 percent professed to speak Kwéyòl well or very well and only 2 percent said that they could not speak the language at all. Nevertheless, more than a fourth of respondents professed to speak the language poorly – most of these were young people, possibly pointing to a shift away from the language.

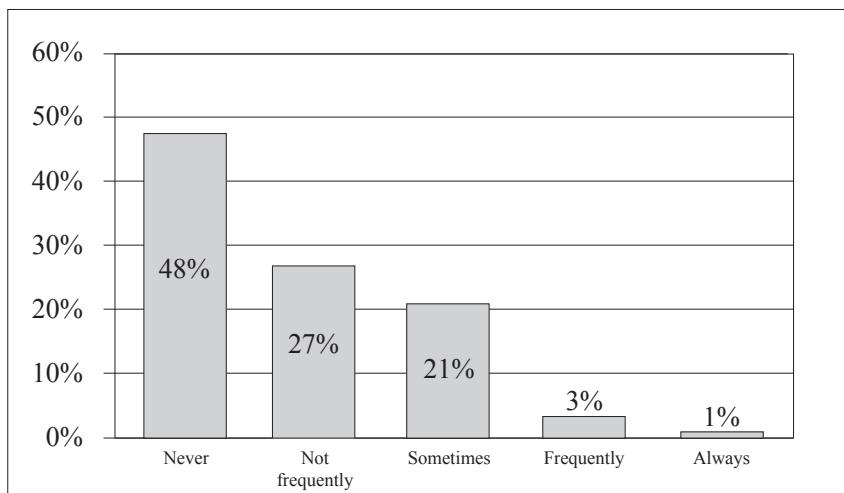
Knowledge of French is considerably less widespread than either English or Kwéyòl. Estimates put the number of French speakers in St. Lucia at less than 10 percent of the population (Allen 1992, Grimes 1996). Dennis Ager

5. *West Indian Census*, 1950. Kingston: Government Printer.

6. *West Indian Census*, 1946. Kingston: Government Printer.

(1996) evaluates the number of real French speakers on the island at only 2,000, while Chaudenson (1992) asserts that a mere .5 percent of all St. Lucians are truly competent in Standard French. In contrast to these estimates, however, 16 percent of field research informants claimed to be able to speak French at least moderately well and 68 percent of the respondents said they could understand at least some spoken French. Of those who claimed to understand some French, nearly one-third – most of whom were young people – identified schooling in French as the way they acquired this ability, suggesting some success of the relatively recent efforts by national leaders and education policymakers to introduce French on the island. Although many St. Lucian informants report some French language ability, 48 percent of all respondents – including those who claimed no knowledge of the language – never use French and 27 percent use the language “not frequently” (see Graph 1). Slightly more than one-fifth claimed to use the language sometimes, while only 3 and 1 percent of the informants said that they use French frequently or always, respectively. Of those who claimed at least some use of French, 36 percent said they use it at work and/or with French-speaking tourists visiting the island. An additional third reported that they use the language when traveling to Martinique. Approximately one-quarter, composed entirely of students, use French in school. These data on linguistic knowledge and use point to St. Lucia’s sociocultural orientation as nominally Francophone.

Graph 1. Frequency of French Language Use



## LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF CULTURAL AFFINITY

English is a highly prized possession among most St. Lucians. It is the language of education and employment both on the island and abroad – many St. Lucians emigrate to the United Kingdom, the United States, or Canada each year. In general, St. Lucians recognize and cherish their membership in the English-speaking world and consider English as much of a St. Lucian language as Kwéyòl. One-half of all informants in Monchy and nearly half of those in Castries expressed the belief that more English should be used on the island. Many of these indicated that St. Lucians should learn to speak better English. Many St. Lucians, particularly the well educated, are conscious of and concerned with the limited grasp of Standard English many of their compatriots have. The embracing of English is nearly universal among young people. A 19-year-old graduate of secondary school in Monchy who was looking for work at the time of the interview, stressed the need for more and better English among St. Lucians in order to prepare students for future employment, explaining the reason for young people's predilection for English:

The children nowadays learn ... are more interested in English. And when it comes to ... like, if they ... For example, when they go for employment, they more ... Nowadays, when you go to job interviews, they will not ask you questions in Patois. And they are not looking for any kind of English. They are looking for Standard English. So, I think they should raise their level of English and leave the Patois how it is. So, I think they should leave the Patois out of it [the school].

Only 2 percent of Monchy and 10 percent of Castries residents expressed the view that less English should be used. Of this minority, most thought that English threatened the survival of Kwéyòl. Although English is the undisputed language of opportunity and upward mobility and nearly all St. Lucians highly value English and will make great sacrifices to see that their children or grandchildren acquire a solid command of the language, most St. Lucians also deem Kwéyòl as a significant symbol of St. Lucian identity. Ninety-five percent of Castries informants and 93 percent of those in Monchy expressed the opinion that it is important for children to learn Kwéyòl. A 49-year-old working-class resident of Castries who speaks Kwéyòl fluently explained his support for the language: "It's a gift given by the All-Mighty. This is what you've been created of ... and if you have to neglect that language or leave it completely to adopt another language, you become an adopted child ... but not a legitimate child." A 19-year-old Castries respondent from a rural, working-class family added:

Creole is our culture. Creole we learn from Africa ... not just come from St. Lucia. I feel that Patois should be practiced. It should be practiced generally. That's our native language. That's our culture. Before English started, it was

Patois. In ancient times, it was Patois your mother and grandmother used to talk to you. [But] when you come [to] Castries and live or when you come [to] Castries to go to school, they don't want you to speak Patois at all.

In line with these sentiments, since national independence a pro-Kwéyòl cultural nationalist movement has sought to elevate Kwéyòl as a full-fledged national language, instituting the annual *Jounen Kwéyòl* in celebration of St. Lucia's Afro-French, creole culture and seeking (unsuccessfully) to introduce Kwéyòl into the national school system as a language of instruction and literacy.

In spite of support for Kwéyòl for the role it plays in national identity, however, many St. Lucians have perceived a decrease in its societal use over time, providing further evidence of a shift away from the language and toward English. A 36-year-old seamstress in Monchy who uses mostly English and occasionally Kwéyòl with her children explained the sociolinguistic change in her community in these terms:

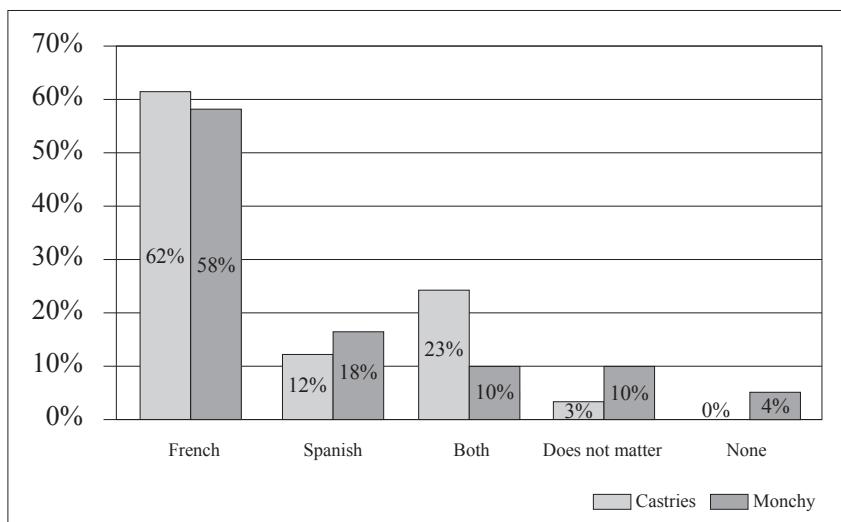
I think less Patois is spoken now than when I was a child. Because I could remember when I was a little girl going to school, all the schoolchildren would be speaking Patois on the road to school. But now you hardly have any child that speaks Patois ... The parents are not speaking Patois like that ... time and time, you see, Patois is decreasing ... from the old generation that's dying out and the young generation that's coming in. The old generation speak Patois to their children. The children speak English to their children, you understand? So, therefore ... my great grandmother died already. And she speaking Patois alone. So, she died already. My grandmother can speak it [English] a little. And then my mother speak it to me fluent. So, I have to speak it to my children, too, you know? So, therefore, the Patois died. So, you hear the children on the way to school speaking English, you understand?

Standard French is a relative newcomer among St. Lucia's languages. Nevertheless, many St. Lucians identify with and embrace the language. St. Lucian attitudes toward French are partly informed by perceived linguistic affinities between French and Kwéyòl. Historically, the St. Lucian school system transmitted to children the idea that, "Patois is not a language, Patois cannot be written, Patois has no grammar, it is only broken French" (Carrington 1967:12). Jeffrey Allen (1992:24) views prevalent attitudes toward French and Kwéyòl as a factor undermining the status of Kwéyòl as an independent language in St. Lucia: "there's still a tendency for people to interpret the French Creole as an incorrect form of French and to associate it with French in some way. Therefore, the Creole loses its separate identity, a little of a separate identity." However, perceived linguistic affinities are auspicious for Franco-St. Lucian efforts to introduce French on the island.

Perceived likenesses between French and Kwéyòl serve to bolster St. Lucian public support for French language instruction in the island's schools.

In competition with Spanish as the primary second (or third after Kwéyòl) language taught in St. Lucian schools, French clearly predominates, pointing to a Francophone cultural orientation among St. Lucians (see Graph 2). French and Spanish are the two main foreign languages taught in St. Lucian schools. The Spanish language has a strong presence in the Caribbean basin and the government of Venezuela subsidizes Spanish language instruction in St. Lucia. Nevertheless, when asked which language is more important for St. Lucian children to learn, most surveyed residents in Castries and Monchy, including those of school age, chose French over Spanish. Sixty-two and 58 percent of respective Castries and Monchy respondents expressed that French was more important for children to learn than Spanish. Most informants who favored French identified the many perceived similarities between the language and Kwéyòl as a justification for their preference. Only 12 and 18 percent of respective Castries and Monchy informants chose Spanish over French. Of the Castries respondents in this latter group, most were English speakers with little knowledge of Kwéyòl, and of the Monchy respondents, most spoke Kwéyòl fluently and related that with Kwéyòl young people could already communicate with French speakers – a view not supported by the experiences of those Kwéyòl-speaking St. Lucians who have had real contact with speakers of French – reflecting limited exposure to the *Francophonie* in rural Monchy relative to the more cosmopolitan, outward-oriented Castries.

Graph 2. Is French or Spanish More Important for Children to Learn?



St. Lucians share few perceived cultural affinities with Ibero-America – but greater perceived cultural affinities with the *Francophonie* – and have relatively few real contacts with Spanish speakers. Respondents expressed that French is closer to St. Lucian culture than is Spanish. A 19-year-old Castries fisherman with a grade-school education put it in terms of racial and regional identity:

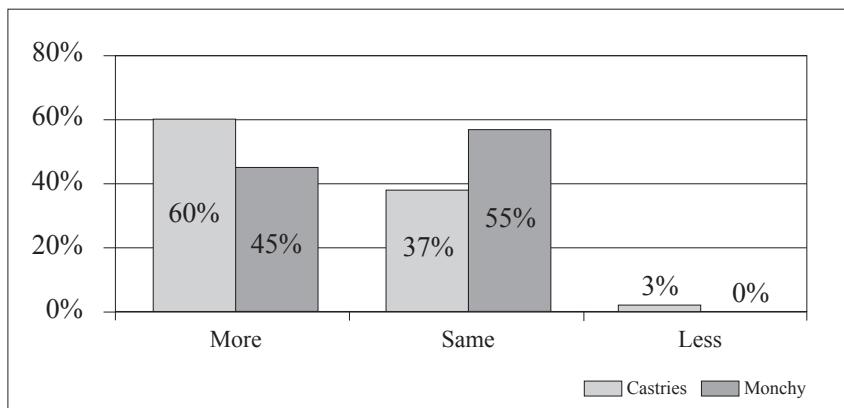
You barely ever come across a Spanish person. A Spanish person would have to drop down from the sky, dem White people dem. The Caribbean is more English and French ... that's why ... we [St. Lucians] are in the center. We can understand English. We can understand French. We speak both. We are doing both. So, we are blessed.

In addition, some informants stressed the greater utility of French for international communication, suggesting that the *Francophonie* figures more importantly than Latin America among St. Lucians – in spite of the geographic closeness and demographic weight of the latter. Other informants highlighted the frequency of French-speaking tourists visiting St. Lucia as a reason for the importance of French.

In addition to preferring French over Spanish as the most important second (third) language of acquisition for children, respondents expressed the view that St. Lucians should, in general, use more French (see Graph 3). This is especially true in urban Castries, where residents have greater contact with foreign Francophone visitors on the island and have more experience traveling within the French-speaking Caribbean relative to the more insular residents of Monchy. Indeed, informants supporting the general increased use of French in St. Lucia cited contact with French-speaking visitors on the island, travel to different territories of the *Francophonie*, and the geographic closeness of Martinique to justify their responses. A 34-year-old Castries housewife put it succinctly: “You have a lot of French people who visit here. You have a lot of French people living here and a lot of St. Lucians go to Martinique to live or to visit.” In addition, St. Lucians – who live in a materially poor nation and have a long history of economically motivated emigration – value the acquisition of French for the doors it potentially opens abroad. Another respondent, a 45-year-old hotel worker originally from the northwestern coastal village of Gros Islet emphasized the usefulness of French, as distinct from Kwéyòl, for the access it provides to the *Francophonie*:

it's true we're Patois speaking ... the French speaking is still different from the Patois ... and we have Martinique very close to us there. Plus, we are native country (*sic*) ... and then we could still go to France or ... there's this place in Canada you speak French. It's not Patois they speak there.

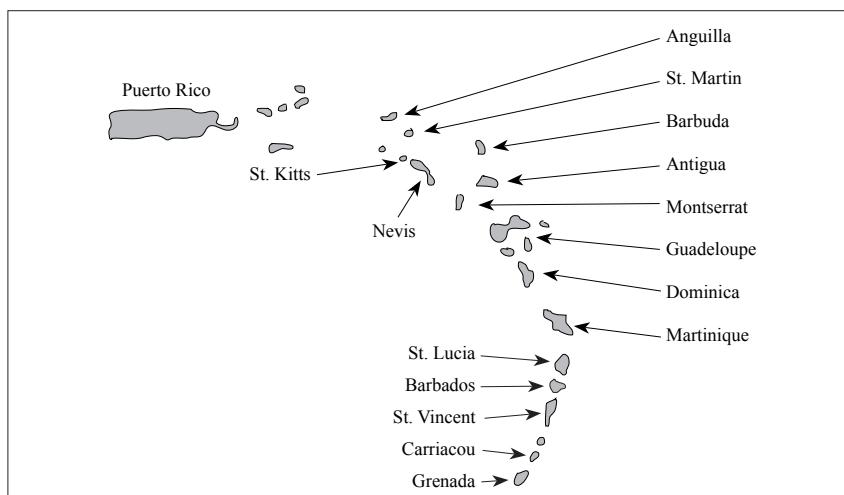
Graph 3. Should St. Lucians Use More, the Same Amount or Less French?



Many St. Lucians consider Kwéyòl to be “broken French” (Vaughan 1979, Carrington 1984). As such, some respondents conflated the Kwéyòl with the French, suggesting that support for the use of more French is related to support for the Kwéyòl language. A Monchy respondent in his forties who had partially completed grade school conveyed the following view:

This is our native tongue. Because of the French influence in our country, our first language is French. That's why we have the Patois. Some people say it's broken French, but I say it's almost like the French ... sometimes when you speak it, you find that certain words they use ... the real French ... we use, too.

Map 1. St. Lucia in the Eastern Caribbean

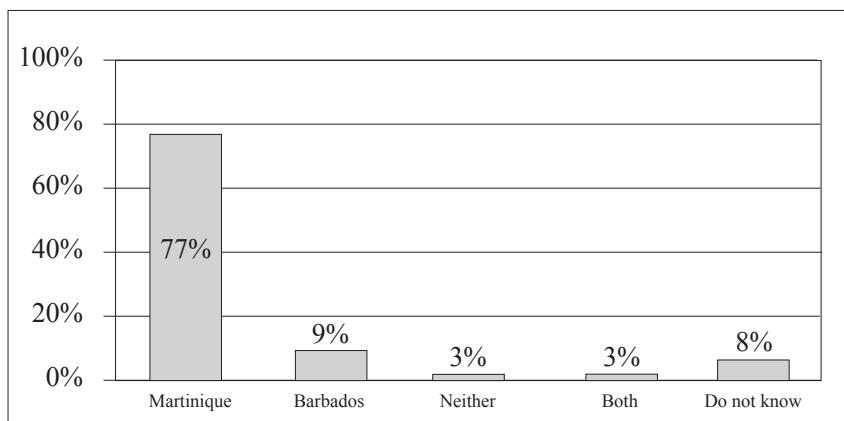


Many informants, including young people schooled in the language, affirmed that French improves the quality of Kwéyòl. Support for St. Lucians to use more French also appears to be related to the social desirability of the language. It is a social asset in St. Lucia to be able to speak French. Implicitly, acquisition of the language not only improves the Kwéyòl, it also improves the social status of individual St. Lucians and, by extension, the St. Lucian people.

One 39-year-old Castries respondent, supportive of greater use of French among St. Lucians, pointed to the fluidity of identity when it comes to language: "Creole speakers can change different identities by using a different language," and emphasized that this is what the neighboring Martiniquans do when they use French instead of Creole. This informant noted that the relatively well-off French-speaking Martiniquans project a sense of superiority vis-à-vis St. Lucian Kwéyòl speakers. A 23-year-old man living in Castries added: "I work in hospitality ... in the hotel ... we have a number of French guests coming down to St. Lucia and we find that sometimes we do not speak the language that well. It looks embarrassing. It looks bad." Another respondent, a 66-year-old farmer from the rural fringes of Castries who was born in Fort-de-France, Martinique, spoke more explicitly on the link between the ability to speak French and social acceptability:

I am very happy that many St. Lucians ... when you hear them speaking French, you cannot tell they are from here. You cannot distinguish whether they are Martiniquan or St. Lucian. I would like many of my people to learn the French language ... Those people who can speak French ... they have a feeling of grandeur ... of superiority.

Graph 4. Perceptions of Cultural Affinity: Martinique versus Barbados



Of all the West Indian islands, Martinique and Barbados have played the largest role in St. Lucia's sociocultural development – in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, St. Lucia was settled predominantly by the French and slaves from Martinique and, under British colonial rule, Barbados was the administrative capital for the British Eastern Caribbean territories and the source of many post-1814 migrants to St. Lucia, including teachers coming to the island in early efforts to extend English-language formal education. When asked to identify which island is culturally most similar to St. Lucia, more than three-quarters of survey respondents identified Martinique (see Graph 4). Only 9 percent chose Barbados. Despite strong Barbadian influence relative to Martinique since the second half of the nineteenth century, most St. Lucians continue to feel culturally closer to the Martiniquans. Many of the respondents mentioned the shared history, culture, and language of the two islands in addition to the historic movement of and intermarrying between the two peoples as their reasons for choosing Martinique over Barbados. One 43-year-old Castries informant affirmed summarily, "We have a lot of French in us." Of the 9 percent who identified St. Lucia as culturally closer to Barbados, all spoke Kwéyòl poorly and most lived in Castries.

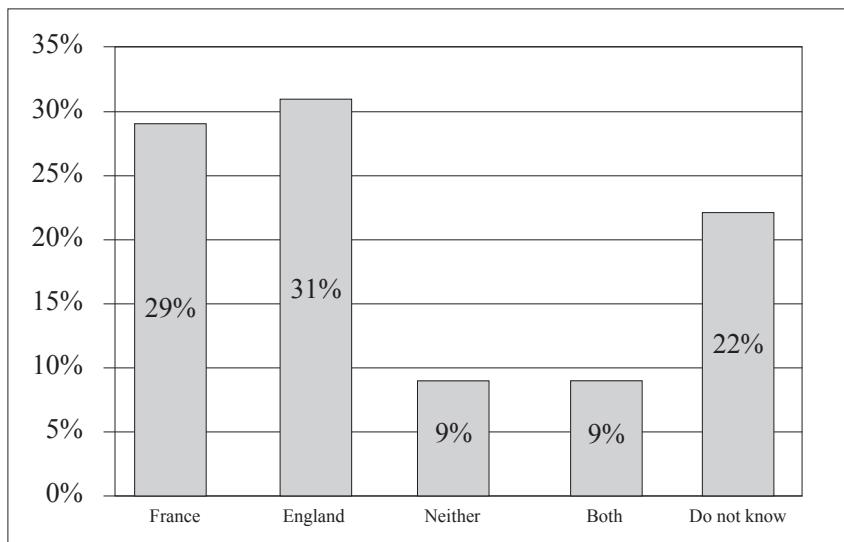
One respondent in his late forties who had been involved in the St. Lucian pro-Kwéyòl cultural nationalist movement, identified the historic cultural closeness between St. Lucians and Martiniquans as still in play and manifest in the area of inter-island cooperation in spite of political barriers between French-controlled Martinique and independent St. Lucia:

Right now there's a lot of cooperation between Martinique and St. Lucia. The Martiniquan people and the St. Lucian people have always been a very close people ... by virtue of distance and so on. However, politically things are a bit more complex ... a lot more complex. But the people have been very close. Historically, the people have been cooperating with one another.

Contemporary trips by St. Lucians to Martinique, the influx of Martiniquan tourists to St. Lucia in recent years, the growth in the popularity of *zouk* music from the French West Indies, access to Martiniquan radio broadcasts on the north of the island, and current Martiniquan logistical and material support of initiatives to teach French in St. Lucian schools provide continuance in historical patterns of inter-island cultural exchange. However, Martinique is politically a part of heavily centralized France, and St. Lucia an independent nation-member of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States and CARICOM. As such, political cooperation between the two islands is limited.

Although St. Lucians tend to identify with the regional, Caribbean *Francophonie* – especially Martinique – they are less inclined to identify with metropolitan France. Slightly more of the respondents expressed that St. Lucia is culturally closer to England than to France (31 to 29 percent – see

Graph 5. Perceptions of Cultural Affinity: France versus England



Graph 5). The informants tend to point to the island's colonial history under the British for evidence of cultural likeness with England. An upper-middle-class Castries man in his sixties explained,

I believe our colonial past has left us many legacies ... you may have noticed in me a bit of the English arrogance ... many who have gone to secondary school or the university tend to have a bit of this arrogance. We might like the French for their way of life, but when it comes to ... because of our education ... because we are educated by the English ... this English thing is in us.

Of the respondents who identified France as more culturally similar to St. Lucia, some specified language as the reason for the similarity. Others referred to St. Lucia's early history with the French. Several equated Martinique with France in making the assessment. Nearly one-third of all respondents said that they did not know which country is culturally closer to St. Lucia. Nine respondents thought neither country was culturally similar to St. Lucia. A handful of these laughed at the question, emphasizing cultural differences between the St. Lucians and the Europeans.

## CONCLUSIONS

In cultural nationalist discourse on language in postcolonial St. Lucia, rhetoric on English as a tool of colonial oppression never made it into the center of public or partisan debates – St. Lucians have long valued English. However, early pro-Kwéyòl cultural nationalism was infused with ideas associated with Liberation Theology and there was emphasis in programmatic planning to derive the means with which to alleviate the socioeconomic marginalization of monolingual Kwéyòl speakers. However, as the number of monolingual Kwéyòl-speaking St. Lucians declined in absolute and relative terms, this emphasis dissipated. Nevertheless, pro-Kwéyòl cultural nationalism on the island has persisted, shifting its focus to the elevation of Kwéyòl as symbol of St. Lucian cultural identity despite evidence of its waning as a familial and community language across the island. A result of this nationalist activity is high levels of support for and identification with the language among St. Lucians. However, this support and identification has not come with a diminution of support for and identification with Standard French, contrary to expectations arising from postcolonial theory. Indeed, perceived linguistic affinities between Kwéyòl and French serve to bolster support for the latter among St. Lucians.

Postcolonial institutions of social and cultural reproduction in St. Lucia – including the schools – perpetuate the high status of English and the low status of Kwéyòl to the dismay of many pro-Kwéyòl cultural nationalists. Competing discourses as to the best language to advance St. Lucian nationhood and intensified globalization – through which the status of English, the global lingua franca, is enhanced – have also perpetuated the supremacy of English on the island. The French language has also benefited from postcolonial institutions of social and cultural reproduction with the introduction of French into the school system, competing discourses on language and St. Lucian cultural identity, and regionalized globalization. The French language has made gains in terms of users and status among those young people schooled in the language. Cultural identification with French among St. Lucians of all ages further bolsters the status of the language. Finally, St. Lucian feelings of strong cultural affiliation with predominantly French-speaking Martinique give St. Lucians perceptual and regional access to the global *Francophonie* and facilitate further St. Lucian embracing of the French language as St. Lucian cultural property. By embracing French in addition to English and Kwéyòl, St. Lucians can manipulate and express multiple identities. St. Lucians have long claimed cultural ownership of English and, increasingly since independence, Kwéyòl. Evidence suggests that they also claim cultural ownership of French.

There are competing discourses related to cultural identity on the island. St. Lucians value English pragmatically for the access it provides to opportunities for socioeconomic advancement on the island and to the wider world,

Kwéyòl more emotively as a marker of St. Lucian national distinctiveness in the global community of nations, and French for its status enhancement qualities and for facilitating communication with neighboring Martiniquans. This fact and the Creole phenomenon that encourages multiple identity formation result in St. Lucian cultural identification with all three languages with no apparent contradictions. However, Kwéyòl has the most currency as a potent symbol of St. Lucian national identity. It is the most visible sign of St. Lucian cultural uniqueness when St. Lucians travel or live abroad. It does not appear, though, that the introduction of French in the island's public schools is a threat to the status of Kwéyòl. English is the high-status language of St. Lucian society, playing a role similar to Dutch in Suriname, French in the French West Indies and Haiti, and English in Jamaica and the other former British Antillean territories. On the contrary, St. Lucian efforts to expand knowledge of the language of Martinique and the global *Francophonie* may serve to bolster the status of Kwéyòl among St. Lucians by legitimizing the creole vernacular as a sister language to the regionally and internationally important French.

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## WHAT PRICE SUGAR? LAND, LABOR, AND REVOLUTION

*Sugar, Slavery, and Society: Perspectives on the Caribbean, India, the Mascarenes, and the United States.* BERNARD MOITT (ed.). Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. vii + 203 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00)

*Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680.* STUART B. SCHWARTZ (ed.). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. xiii + 347 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.50)

These two books illustrate the fascination that sugar, slavery, and the plantation still exercise over the minds of scholars. One of them also reflects an interest in the influence these have had on the modern world. For students of the history of these things the Schwartz collection is in many ways the more useful. It seeks to fill a lacuna left by the concentration of monographs on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, suggesting that we know less about the history of sugar than we thought we did. Perhaps in no other single place is such a range of information on so wide an area presented in such detail for so early a period. Ranging from Iberia to the Caribbean and including consumption as well as production of sugar, with a nod to the slave trade and a very useful note on weights and currencies, this volume is a gold mine of information. It considers (briefly) the theoretical meaning as well as the growing of this important crop, contrasting its production in Iberia with that on the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Canaries, colonized by Iberian powers, and continuing the contrast with São Tomé, off the coast of Africa, and on to Brazil and the Spanish American empire before ending with the British in Barbados. In the transit, it of necessity considers and complicates the meaning of “sugar revolution” and shows how scholars using that term do not always mean the same thing. John McCusker and Russell Menard, for example, tackling a cornerstone of the traditional interpretation of the development of sugar, argue that there was no “sugar revolution” in Barbados; economic change had already begun before sugar’s advent, though sugar may have accelerated it, and yet sugar production was transformed on the island. They also undercut, without quite denying,

the significance of the Dutch role in the process. Schwartz, while questioning, clings to the traditional expression if not the traditional outlook, seeing in Barbados “the beginning of the sugar revolution” (p. 10).

In his introduction, Schwartz also contests the notion of sugar as the “quintessential capitalist crop” (p. 2) and suggests the irony that such a crop was sponsored in the New World by the feudal societies of Spain and Portugal and maintained by communist Cuba. He gives a clear and capsule summary of debates around these issues. As important as the theoretical debates, however, are the mechanics of turning crop into commodity. Several authors discuss technological advances, and if one wanted to know what a casual reference to a new sugar press might mean, one can learn here. They also discuss the distinction between a *trapiche* (animal driven) and an *ingenio* (using the Spanish term, or water driven) mill but even in that case differences existed over time and place as to what the terms encompassed. An illustration of both on p. 15 carries a caption which says it was uncommon to operate both types simultaneously; yet Genero Morel, p. 99, declares that it was not uncommon, in sixteenth-century Espanola at least, to *have* if not simultaneously to *operate* both types. This is not the only instance in which one has to read carefully to understand what precisely is being claimed. In fact, Morel writes that the *trapiche* “could continue to operate in case of accident or damage at the waterwheel,” suggesting they frequently did operate at the same time, though only larger planters could afford them both. While the water-driven mill was more efficient, animal-driven mills were more dependable.

It will be no news to those familiar with sugar’s history that, particularly in the Old World, it was not always or even usually grown by slave labor, and several chapters, based primarily on archival sources, provide minute details about land systems and labor arrangements, revealing that neither bound labor nor extensive units of production had to obtain. That such features have been commonly associated with sugar is significant in itself and indicates why attention to this early period is crucial. The authors reveal succinct regional distinctions, such as that the nature of the soil in Brazil usually obviated the use of plows and fertilizers, which was not always the case in the Caribbean; nor did Brazilians use irrigation, though it was important in Spain, Espanola, and Mexico; Brazilians produced clayed sugar in contrast to the *muscovado*, or brown sugar, shipped from the West Indies, though it is left for an author in Moitt to explain the West Indian divergence. The importance of Native American labor in early New World production is reaffirmed and a connection is made between their exploitation and that of Africans. Herbert Klein makes the interesting point that in Brazil, Native American sweat made possible the importation of Africans by creating the capital needed to purchase them, and this extended beyond their initial use in cultivation but included their mining of gold and silver; this observation would apply equally to Mexico and other regions that first used native peoples. There was an inter-island slave trade in

native peoples to support production in Espaniola before the transatlantic trade supplanted it. A chapter on Iberia pushes back the baseline for European use of sugar, highlighting the effects of sugar on European cuisine and contrasting European and Middle Eastern dietary practices.

In reviewing the various methods for organizing production in Iberia and Iberian possessions, it becomes easy to understand why the sugar estate took the name *ingenio* or *engenho* in those regions, referring to the mill, instead of “plantation,” referring to the size of unit and structure of labor, as in English colonies. The presence or absence of an efficient milling process made the difference between sugar as a commercial export and a crop of local utility. When sugar went to the West Indies, its role as a commercial item was clearly assumed and the importance of finding and organizing land and labor were foremost considerations. Producers in the two regions emphasized different things, which the two terms *ingenio* and *engenho* signify.

The collection edited by Moitt partly seeks to dispel common misperceptions about the way sugar is or has been raised, but treats as well the physical, emotional, and psychological effects of the sugar regime upon African slaves and upon those who replaced them in the fields. While Schwartz's collection is historical, Moitt's is interdisciplinary, including literature and sociology along with history, and while Schwartz moves from an early period to the seventeenth century Moitt goes from the seventeenth to the twentieth-first century. In that sense they are complementary. Moitt's focus is the Caribbean but includes production in India and postemancipation labor struggles in Louisiana. Literary chapters compare writings in the French and British Caribbean and the Caribbean and the Mascarenes in an attempt, as Sada Niang expresses it (p. 49), “to round out the ... sociohistorical experience.” In this way and others, Moitt places more emphasis on the plight and behavior of the laborer than on the structure of the estate or organization of the industry. Authors in his collection are at least as concerned about the interior lives of slaves or Asian contract laborers as about their external circumstances and they make some interesting points: Although indentured laborers from India were theoretically protected by a legal document, they suffered the same loss of personal freedom, confinement in tight and squalid living quarters, and corporal punishment as slaves. They suffered the additional indignity in the French Caribbean, as Niang reports on the work of Guadeloupean artist Ernest Moutoussamy, of losing their name and language as well: “French, and not the existing *créole*, is the overseer's language and actualizes the official parameters of their enslavement” (p. 45), as the worker is handed a passbook with his official designation, including to whom he belongs, what he does and is to be called, in a language he cannot read. Their alienation was likely therefore to be greater than those brought to the British West Indies where English was spoken, even if they did not claim that language as their own either. These authors also add a gender dimension, reminding us, for example, that Barbados and the Bahamas stand as exceptions

to the general rule that Caribbean slaves could not reproduce themselves, that women outnumbered men in the fields and generally worked harder, and that women were prominent among those killed or maimed in the mills, involved in an industrial pursuit many might think was confined to men.

It is clear, however, that Schwartz's volume is closer to the cutting edge of research than Moitt's, the downside of which is that many of the essays, based on archival research, sometimes contain more information on arcane features of local sugar production than one not especially concerned about that particular region would care to know. But these details can be passed over quickly to reach the still useful conclusion. Moitt's collection, though containing original work, is more synthetic and reinforces advances already made. Moitt's study of *marronage* in the French Caribbean, for example, sheds light on the way planters enforced the *code noir*, showing few gender distinctions except that they reserved mutilation of the nose for women, and punished new slaves who absconded more leniently than seasoned or creole ones – for the obvious reason that hamstringing as obliged by law would have robbed them of the use of too many slaves. They saved that punishment for those who had already proved themselves useless. Especially important is the finding that enforcement became more flexible in the eighteenth century, as strict accordance with the seventeenth-century enactments had proved to be inconsistent with effective and economical maintenance of the slave regime. But the fact that slaves persisted in running away despite harsh punishment is not news, nor is the call for continued study of the psychology of slave resistance. In like measure, Moitt and Horace Henriques's desire to counteract the model of the plantation as a “total institution” by focusing on the slave and postemancipation populations in Guiana is a version within the West Indian or South American context of the scholarship that followed Stanley Elkins (1959) in the United States and therefore is not a conceptual breakthrough. Yet they give the idea a peculiar twist by looking at class and ethnic divisions (among both Blacks and Whites) as evidence of the absence of totality, and show that lack of unity among Blacks doomed an otherwise successful rebellion in Berbice.

Moitt repeats perfectly acceptable expressions of the scholarly consensus that give one pause after reading the essays in Schwartz. So that, for example, while it may be absolutely true, as Moitt quotes Philip Curtin's *Plantation Complex* (1990) that “the first plantation slaves were neither blacks nor Africans of any color,” (pp. 2, 3) the force of discussion about labor in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic outside of São Tomé in Schwartz features the variety of labor arrangements and the relative paucity of slaves. None of this is inconsistent with the basic principles of what we already knew but the new evidence modifies the picture and shifts the emphasis. In particular, the term “sugar revolution” in reference to Barbados causes some unease after reading McCusker and Menard who say there was a “sugar boom” but no revolution; the adoption of sugar was part of a process of experimentation as

planters tried first tobacco, then cotton, then indigo, and finally sugar, and a host of changes usually associated with sugar had already occurred. The distinctive Barbados contribution was to develop an integrated rather than dispersed sugar plantation, using gang labor, driven by the whip. They think the term has outlived its usefulness. If one accepts Schwartz's definition of it (p. 2) as "the process of forming large estates using coerced labor in semi-industrial productive activity geared towards export," it may still apply, and Schwartz as well as Moitt continue to use it. McCusker and Menard may have changed the equation but it is unlikely scholars will soon abandon the terminology. The point is that essays in Schwartz have made this and other concepts problematic, and they may never be used as comfortably again.

It is not clear what precisely Moitt means when he asserts (p. 2) that "only after it arrived in the Caribbean following centuries of migration did the sugarcane become a viable and commercially successful crop." This might have been news to people in Madeira, the Canaries, São Tomé, and Brazil. Perhaps this is the danger of an unreflexive use of words like "revolution." But Schwartz points out that technological advances notwithstanding, on the whole, the sugar plantation was not very innovative. The attachment to an archaic labor system was common, and there was no linear or sustained increase in either labor productivity or plantation efficiency. After a century of technological progress, slaves on eighteenth-century Jamaican plantations were only 20 percent more productive than those of early Cuba.

Although Moitt solicited some chapters, his collection evidently grew mostly out of a conference on sugar, which may partly explain its diversity, and it lacks Schwartz's cohesion. Its greatest usefulness is to remind us that Asian populations share the Caribbean with Africans and Europeans (and what might be left of native populations), and that many if not most of them also came to work sugar. If Schwartz's collection is an example of what good Atlantic history can offer and why such work should be transnational, Moitt suggests that the perspective should be global. Moitt can appeal to a wider range of scholars but Schwartz is probably more useful to historians. Yet historians should not neglect the psychological and social dimension Moitt offers, and his authors are especially effective in adducing current relevance. No serious scholar of sugar and the plantation should be without Schwartz's book, and no one curious about sugar's social dimensions should ignore Moitt's.

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RICHARD PRICE & SALLY PRICE

BOOKSHELF 2005/2006

After Bookshelf 2004 appeared, a reviewer who was late with a submission dashed off an email: "As soon as the latest issue of the *NWIG* arrived, I ripped open the packaging and flipped to the 'Bookshelf' review to make sure I had not been inducted into the [Caribbeanist] Hall of Shame. WHEW!! Safe for now ..." Ten others, however, have remained silent past the witching hour, obligating us to report, in our traditionally discreet manner, the reason for which the books they agreed to review have not received attention in the pages of the *NWIG*. As always, we would be delighted if any of them sent in their reviews and would gladly publish them forthwith.

- *The Cuban Economy*, edited by Archibald M. Ritter (Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004. vii + 248 pp., cloth US\$ 29.95) (S—I L. L—s)
- *States of Nature: Science, Agriculture, and Environment in the Spanish Caribbean, 1760-1940*, by Stuart McCook (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002. xi + 201 pp., paper US\$ 22.95) (L—e S—z)
- *Ghosts of Slavery: A Literary Archaeology of Black Women's Lives*, by Jenny Sharpe (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003. xxvi + 187 pp., paper US\$ 17.95) (F—h S—h)
- *Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780-1870*, by Diana Paton (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2004. xiii + 291 pp., paper US\$ 23.95) (D—d T—n)
- *Creole Recitations: John Jacob Thomas and Colonial Formation in the Late Nineteenth-Century Caribbean*, by Faith Smith (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002. xxvi + 207 pp., paper US\$ 18.50) (K—n A. Y—n)
- *The Language of Caribbean Poetry: Boundaries of Expression*, by Lee M. Jenkins (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. vii + 232 pp., cloth US\$ 59.95) (S—t B—n)
- *Culture @ the Cutting Edge: Tracking Caribbean Popular Music*, by Curwen Best (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2004. 259 pp., paper US \$25.00) (M—I V—I)

- *Reclaiming Difference: Caribbean Women Rewrite Postcolonialism*, by Carine M. Mardorossian (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005. x + 187 pp., cloth US\$ 49.50) (J—n A—m A—o)
- *Toussaint's Clause: The Founding Fathers and the Haitian Revolution*, by Gordon S. Brown (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005. xi + 321 pp., cloth US\$ 32.00) (D—s B—n)
- *History of Puerto Rico: A Panorama of Its People*, by Fernando Picó (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2006. xiv + 351 pp., paper US\$ 28.95) (F—o S—o)

It has become our custom to begin “Bookshelf” with literary works (which do not receive full reviews in the *NWIG*). First, poetry.

Two of the senior figures on the Caribbean poetry scene, Édouard Glissant and Kamau Brathwaite, offer new books. Glissant’s *La Cohée du Lamentin: Poétique V* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005, paper, € 17.50) is a series of philosophical-poetic musings in prose on well-worn Glissantian themes: the horrors of *mondialisation* (standardization directed by ultra-liberal multinationals) vs. *mondialité* (the globalization of the spirit, the world united in new and marvelous ways), the importance of utopias, Latin American art (Matta, Lam, Glissant’s proposed M2A2 museum in Martinique), *la relation*, the herd-like tendencies of *États-Uniens*, and much else. (Last June at the Café de Flor in Paris, Glissant became expansive telling us about the word *cohée*, which he likes partly because it is not in any French or Creole dictionary. Its referents include a] the Cohée du Lamentin, a part of the Bay of Lamentin where he swam as a youngster, home to a hundred-year-old toothless shark the children would see swimming under them whose teeth had decayed because of its taste for the sugar left in the water by barrels that fell into the sea as they were being loaded onto the ships, b] a place near the Martiniquan town of St. Pierre called Fond Cohée, and c] a marine bird found in Guadeloupe [but not in Martinique] that flies with its mouth open and eats mosquitoes as it flies.) Brathwaite’s *Born to Slow Horses* (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2005, cloth US\$ 22.95) is a collection of varied, muscular, vernacular Caribbean poems in the author’s “video style” typography (which he has also called “video sycorax,” “Namestoura/Sycorax” and “Video/tidalectics style”), meant to mark the first publication of the “new (?4th phase) of Brathwaite’s poetry … a significant transboundary development.” We especially enjoyed Brathwaite’s book which recently won the \$50,000 International Griffen Poetry Prize.

Two volumes of new poetry from St. Martin’s Lasana M. Sekou, *37Poems* and *The Salt Reaper: Poems from the Flats* (both Philipsburg, St. Martin: House of Nehisi, 2005, paper US\$ 15.00). The first, alluding to St. Martin’s 37-square-mile size, was written while Sekou was visiting Hong Kong and Beijing, and the second features a substantive introduction by master calyp-

sonian Dr. Hollis “Chalkdust” Liverpool. It’s eminently political, grounded in Caribbean history, global in scope, yet pleading as always for an independent St. Martin. *The Angel Horn: Collected Poems 1927-1997* (Philipsburg, St. Martin: House of Nehisi, 2005, paper US\$ 18.00), by St. Vincent’s late Shake Keane, ranges over his experiences in London, New York, and on the island itself, integrating folk culture and nation language with exuberance and humor.

Three poetry volumes from different horizons. *The Garden of Forgetting* (Leeds, UK: Peepal Tree Books, 2005, paper £7.99), by Gwyneth Barber Wood, gathers intense brief poems that move between Jamaica and England. *Carib’s Leap: Selected and New Poems of the Caribbean* (Leeds, UK: Peepal Tree Books, 2005, paper £12.99), by Laurence Lieberman, collects this American author’s travel poetry, serious and engaged. *Tears and Bitter Smiles* (Bloomington IN: AuthorHouse, 2005, paper US\$ 16.60), by Alfred Reynolds, presents the poems, many translated from French to English, by this Haitian-born U.S. artist.

*The Oxford Book of Caribbean Verse*, edited by Stewart Brown & Mark McWatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, paper US\$ 21.50), is a delicious sampler of Caribbean English-language poetry, with briefer selections in translation from French, Spanish, and Dutch works, plus a responsible and uplifting introduction. And *Yoruba from Cuba: Selected Poems*, by Nicolás Guillén (Leeds UK: Peepal Tree Books, 2005, £9.99), is an attractive Spanish-English facing-page presentation, with translations by Salvador Ortiz-Carboneres, of Guillén’s works.

Turning to novels, *Small Island* (New York: Picador, 2004, paper US\$ 14.00), is Andrea Levy’s fourth, winner of the U.K.’s Whitbread Book of the Year Award and the Orange Prize for Fiction, as well as having recently been chosen as the best Orange Prize for Fiction winner over the ten years that the prize has been running. Set in 1940s Jamaica and London, and told in the voices of immigrants and their often reluctant hosts, the book is filled with humor, pathos, and a lot of down-home truth. We recommend it highly.

We’ve read four engaging first novels. *A Simple Distance* (New York: Akashic Books, 2006, paper US\$ 14.95) is a sparkling debut by K.E. Silva, a California civil-rights lawyer whose parents hail from the West Indies. *Black Marks*, by Kirsten Dinnall Hoyte (New York: Akashic Books, 2006, paper US\$ 14.95) crosses boundaries of race, sexuality, and geography, including Jamaica, as the protagonist constructs her identity. *John Crow’s Devil* (New York: Akashic Books, 2005, cloth US\$ 19.95), is Marlon James’s impressive, very Jamaican first novel. And *Like Heaven* (London: Hutchinson, 2006, cloth US\$ 29.21), by Niala Maharaj, a Trinidadian now residing in Amsterdam, depicts modern Trini life with humor and empathy.

Three classic West Indian novels have been reprinted, with useful introductions and notes that situate them firmly in their time. William Earle’s

novel *Obi: or, the History of Three-Fingered Jack* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Editions, 2005, paper US\$ 14.95), first published in London in 1800, with obeah and marronage as central themes, now appears in a new edition with an introduction and notes by Srinivas Aravamudan. The anonymously authored *Marly: or, A Planter's Life in Jamaica* (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2005, paper US\$ 15.00), edited with a new introduction by Karina Williamson, was written by a Scotsman who had intimate experience with plantation life in Jamaica and published in Glasgow in 1828. *Rupert Gray: A Tale in Black and White* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2006, paper US\$ 30.00), by Stephen N. Cobham, edited by Lise Winer, has extensive annotations and an introduction by Bridget Brereton, Rhonda Cobham, Mary Rimmer, and Lise Winer, and was first published in Trinidad in 1907.

Four anthologies. *Stories from Blue Latitudes: Caribbean Women Writers at Home and Abroad*, edited by Elizabeth Nunez & Jennifer Sparrow (Emeryville CA: Seal Press, 2005, paper US\$ 16.95), brings together work by twenty-six writers, mainly well-known but others with emerging reputations. *Iron Balloons: Hit Fiction from Jamaica's Calabash Writer's Workshop* (New York: Akashic Books, 2006, paper US\$ 14.95), edited by Colin Channer, anthologizes some of the best new writing from Jamaica – hard-hitting, surprising, and compelling. In *Noordoostpassanten: 400 jaar Nederlandse verhaalkunst over Suriname, de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba* (Amsterdam: Contact, 2005, paper € 37.50), editors Michiel van Kempen and Wim Rutgers present some 700 pages of snippets of Dutch travel literature about the Caribbean colonies, bracketed by an introduction and paragraph-long biographies of the more than one hundred authors. *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery: An Anthology*, edited by Peter C. Mancall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, paper US\$ 24.95), presents thirty seven documents, only four of which concern the Caribbean.

*Capricious Paradise: Caribbean Tales Told by Lis Twa* (Bloomington IN: AuthorHouse, 2005, paper US\$ 8.70) is North Carolinian Gilliam Clarke's well-intentioned outsider version of Eastern Caribbean vernacular storytelling (mainly from Grenada and St. Lucia). A bit of folklore from Curaçao slips into *Pomegranate Seeds: Latin American Jewish Tales*, by Nadia Grosser Nagarajan (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005, paper US\$ 23.95), which is otherwise concerned with the continent.

Elsewhere on the literary scene, Papillote Press, launched in 1998 and specializing in books about Dominica, has for the first time brought between two covers the shorter fiction of Phyllis Shand Allfrey. Introduced by Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, *It Falls Into Place* (2004, paper £7.99) travels between Dominica, New York, and London, crafting sensitive vignettes of the diverse experiences of West Indians at home and abroad.

The publishing house Vents d'ailleurs (formerly based in Châteauneuf-le-Rouge, now in La Roque d'Anthéron – both near Aix-en-Provence), which

full disclosure requires us to recognize as the French publisher of three of our own books, has become a leading publisher of Haitian fiction. Among their recent offerings, we mention the eight remarkable volumes that comprise Frankétienne's *Métamorphoses de l'Oiseau schizophone*, first published in Haiti in 1996 and 1997 – to date, the first four “movements” have appeared: *D'un pur silence inextinguible* (2004), *D'une bouche ovale* (2006), *La méduse orpheline* (2006), and *La nocturne connivence des corps inversés* (2006), each priced at € 18, with the other four due soon. (In 2006, Frankétienne was awarded the Prix Union Latine de Littératures Romanes for his *oeuvre*, which now includes more than thirty volumes of poetry, fiction, and unclassifiable “Spiralist” verbal fireworks, as in these eight “schizophone bird” books.) Vents d'ailleurs has also been publishing the prolific, popular work of younger Haitian novelist Gary Victor, *A l'angle des rues parallèles* (2003, paper € 16), which won the Prix du Livre Insulaire, *Je sais quand Dieu vient se promener dans mon jardin* (2004, paper € 16), which won the Prix RFO, *Le diable dans un thé à la citronnelle* (2005, paper € 16), and *Les cloches de la Brésilienne* (2006, paper € 16). A novel by Marie-Célie Agnant, *Le livre d'Emma* (2004, paper € 16) rounds out Vents d'ailleurs's recent Haitian fiction, describing a psychiatric hospital patient's memory traces that begin before the Middle Passage.

The late René Philoctète's *Massacre River* (New York: New Directions Books, 2005, cloth US\$ 22.95), published in Haiti in 1989, finds new life in this sensitive translation by Linda Coverdale, accompanied by a preface by Edwidge Danticat (whose *Farming of Bones* gave her own vision of the 1937 Trujillo-ordered massacre of Haitians that forms the backdrop for Philoctète's moving novel), as well as an homage/introduction by Lyonel Trouillot.

French Antillean novelists continue to produce at a dizzying pace. Recent fiction that has come our way includes *A bout d'enfance* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005, paper € 15), in which Martiniquan Patrick Chamoiseau continues his third-person childhood memoirs (following on *Antan d'enfance*, 1990, and *Chemin-d'école*, 1994), adopting what has become in our eyes a rather cloying, formulaic voice to describe his discovery of the penis, the opposite sex, and other mysteries. Fellow *créoliste* Guadeloupean Ernest Pépin celebrates, in *Cantique des tourterelles* (Paris: Écriture, 2004, paper € 16.95), the unexpected, passionate love between two women, one already married. Linguist Jean Bernabé's second novel, *Partage des ancêtres* (Paris: Ecriture, 2004, paper € 18.95), mixes racial and other identitarian concerns of Martiniquans into the *créoliste* pot. Experienced novelist Gisèle Pineau's *Chair piment* (Paris: Folio, 2004, paper € 6.60) moves between Paris and Guadeloupe, chronicling one woman's interior and erotic life.

*Le roman d'Anansi, ou le fabuleux voyage d'une araignée* (Gosier, Guadeloupe: Caret, 2006, paper € 27.00), edited by Armelle Détang, with research and notes by J. Picard, is an annotated collection of previously pub-

lished texts – here translated into French – about the fabulous spiderman-trickster, organized geographically: Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Jamaica, Curaçao, Suriname, and French Guiana. The editors clearly mean well and have created a precious little object-of-a-book. But is it correct to describe *Two Evenings in Saramaka* (a 417-page book published by the University of Chicago Press) as “a recording of some fifteen folktales available at present solely to specialists of English,” to describe “*taki-taki*” in one place as “the language of the Boni” and another as “a creole language close to Sranan” (when the language of the Boni/Aluku is in fact a dialect of Ndyuka and “*taki-taki*” is in fact a pejorative term for Sranan), or to boldly state that there are approximately 20,000 Suriname Maroons today (when the true figure, available even in French-language sources, is close to 120,000)?

In *Hotbeds: Black-White Love in Novels from the United States, Africa and the Caribbean*, by Pia Theilmann (Zomba, Malawi: Kachere Series, 2004, paper US\$ 34.95), the final 80 pages are devoted to plot summaries and analyses of selected Caribbean novels.

*Encyclopedia of Caribbean Literature*, edited by D.H. Figueredo (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2006, cloth, two volumes, US\$ 199.95) consists of almost 1,000 pages of one- to two-page entries, many written by the editor. It is an uneven effort, marred by errors of fact and interpretation and out-of-date by its appearance. Just for the Francophone Caribbean, for example, under “The Césaire family,” one finds: “Aimé and Suzanne are husband and wife writers and philosophers from Martinique ... After 1945, Suzanne Césaire [whose dates are given as 1913–] chose silence, devoting her life to raising her family,” when in fact the Césaires separated three years before Suzanne’s death more than forty years ago. Moreover, there’s no entry on Raphaël Confiant or Ernest Pépin, and Édouard Glissant is credited with being one of the four founders of the *créolité* movement. This is the sort of publication that should have been made available solely online, where it could have benefitted from updates and corrections.

On to the social sciences. H.E. Lamur has published a monumental database, *Familienaam & verwantschap van geëmancipeerde slaven in Suriname: Zoeken naar voorouders/Family Name & Kinship of Emancipated Slaves in Suriname: Tracing Ancestors* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2004, 2 vols., boxed, cloth € 175.00), with a bilingual methodological introduction, based mainly on the emancipation records compiled in 1863 when Suriname slave owners recorded their human assets in order to receive the 300-guilder per head compensation offered by the government. (A rival project to publish these archival materials by Okke ten Hove, Heinrich E. Helstone & Wim Hoogbergen, *Surinaamse Emancipatie 1863: Familienamen en plantages* and *Surinaamse Emancipatie 1863 Paramaribo: Slaven en eigenaren* [Amsterdam & Utrecht: Rozenberg Publishers & CLACS & IBS, 2003/2004, 2 vols., € 29.90, € 34.90], was not sent to *NWIG* for review, but a useful

review that compares the two projects may be found in *Oso* 24[2005]:390-93.) The entries include, for each emancipated person, the slave name, first name, (new) family name, birth year, kinship data (often from additional sources), occupation, crop (for field hands), plantation, owner, and district. As with emancipation registers from elsewhere in the Americas, these documents should provide grist for many a historian's mill.

Anthropologist María Isabel Quiñones Arocho, who is notable among Puerto Ricans for having conducted her doctoral dissertation research outside the Hispanophone realm, in Barbados, presents in *El fin del reino de lo propio: Ensayos de antropología cultural* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 2004, paper US\$ 11.95) a series of interrogations about “difference” and “place” – the politics and poetics of alterity in ethnographic discourse and practice – ranging from an analysis of contemporary Puerto Rican beauty parlors to a woman's reminiscences of the Bajan canefield riots of 1937.

Two excellent books have been published by the Archives départementales de la Martinique and edited by the director, Dominique Taffin. The first, *Moreau de Saint-Méry ou les ambiguïtés d'un créole des Lumières* (Fort-de-France: Société des Amis des archives et de la recherche sur le patrimoine culturel des Antilles, 2006, paper € 23) contains the proceedings of an international colloquium held in 2004 to commemorate the bicentennial of Haitian independence and examine the varied facets of the career of Moreau, who was born in Martinique and spent his first nineteen years on the island. The second, *Le pays du volcan: Guide des sources de l'histoire de Saint-Pierre, de sa région et des éruptions de la montagne Pelée* (Fort-de-France: Archives départementales, 2006, paper € 30), is an impressive compendium of every archival trace, in all countries of the world, of the history of Saint-Pierre and especially of the great eruption of 1902.

*Vieux-Pont ou les oubliés de la mangrove: Urbanisation, marginalisation à la Martinique* (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2005, paper € 15), by Serge Domi & William Rolle, is a 90-page social-science discussion of the history, present, and future of Martinique's most notorious crack neighborhood, the “mangrove” of Lamentin. Anthropologist Gérard Collomb presents and edits, with an excellent introduction and notes, *Les Indiens de la Sinnamary: Journal du père Jean de la Mousse en Guyane (1684-1691)* (Paris: Chandigne, 2006, cloth € 25), which lays out, in conversational tones, this Jesuit's experiences and observations, particularly among the Galibis (Kali'na), to the west of Cayenne. Louis Sicking's *Frontières d'Outre-Mer: La France et les Pays-Bas dans le monde atlantique au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2006, paper € 28) includes some one hundred pages devoted to border politics on the island of Saint Martin and along the Marowijne/Maroni River, providing the richest account to date of the issues surrounding the Lawa-Tapanahoni contested area. Christine Chivallon's *La diaspora noire des Amériques: Expériences et théories à partir de la Caraïbe*

(Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2004, paper € 29) is an ambitious and challenging attempt at once to introduce Anglophone thinking of the past twenty-five years about the African diaspora and the Black Atlantic into French academic discourse and to provide a critique of its leading ideas. For decades now, French social science has largely ignored the Caribbean and the rest of the Black Americas, so this book, by engaging the theoretical contributions of the region, is a welcome sign of change.

On to photography. In *Gens de pays: Un visage de la Martinique* (Gros Morne, Martinique: Éditions Traces Habitation Saint-Étienne, 2006, n.p.), the island's most gifted photographer, Jean-Luc de Laguarigue, presents more than two hundred pages of portraits, usually of a single person, sometimes a couple, occasionally a family, identified simply by names, places, and dates. From Aimé Césaire and Édouard Glissant to workers in the cane or distillery, his classic Hasselblad engages and rivets its subjects, bringing back to the viewer a strong sense of humanity. This masterful project, conceived as an antidote to the clichéd Caribbean photobooks designed for coffee tables, stimulates active reflection, aided by a provocative preface by philosopher Guillaume Pigeard de Gurbert. *Fotografieën van Suriname: Paramaribo, de spoorweg en de districten in de jaren 1900-1914*, by G.C. Zijlmans (Barendrecht, Netherlands: Batavia Publishing, 2006, cloth, n.p.) presents forty-eight photos made by Cornelis Atzes Hoekstra, pastor of the Lutheran church in Paramaribo, in the first decade of the twentieth century, along with more than one hundred previously published photos taken by a range of amateur and professional photographers (Eugen Klein having the greatest number). The subject of each photo is identified and briefly discussed in vintage colonial history style. *Cuba Classics: A Celebration of Vintage American Automobiles*, by Christopher P. Baker (New York: Interlink Books, 2004, cloth US\$ 29.95), is a coffee-table book chock full of engaging photo journalism, focusing on 1950s dream machines. *Cuba, the Natural Beauty*, by Clyde Butcher (Ochopee FL: Big Cypress Gallery, 2005, cloth US\$ 29.95) presents a gallery of black-and-white photos from a recent trip. *Cuba: Portrait of an Island*, featuring photographs by Donald Nausbaum and text by Ron Base (New York: Interlink Books, 2005, cloth US\$ 29.95), is another attractive coffee-table presentation of the island, this time by two Canadian residents.

The Academia Dominicana de la Historia has published an *homenaje* to the late Harry Hoetink, who devoted so many years to studies of that country. *Ensayos Caribeños*, by Harry Hoetink (Santo Domingo: Academia Dominicana de la Historia, 2006, n.p.) gathers together four of the master's essays preceded by an introduction by Frank Moya Pons and followed by an excellent bibliography that lists all of Hoetink's writings, from book reviews and occasional pronouncements to major books, as well as works that assess his various contributions.

As for new dictionaries, *Dikshonario Papiamentu-Hulandes / Woordenboek Papiaments-Nederlands* (Zutphen, Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 2005, cloth € 39.50), by Igma van Putte-de Windt & Florimon van Putte, is a useful unidirectional 495-page Papiamentu to Dutch dictionary. And the *Prisma woordenboek Sranantongo-Nederlands Nederlands-Sranantongo* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 2005, paper € 18.25), by J.C.M. Blancker & J. Dubbeldam, is a two-way affair, with a selection of Sranan proverbs at the end and some color plates in the middle, which identify various “typical” fruits, vegetables, fish, and cultural items, some (e.g., the “agida”) unfortunately mislabeled.

A *mélange* of Caribbean books will not get full reviews in the *NWIG* for one reason or another. *Frantz Fanon: A Portrait*, by Alice Cherki (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2006, paper US\$ 24.95), focuses almost exclusively on the period during the Algerian Revolution when the author was Fanon’s colleague. *José Martí: An Introduction*, by Oscar Montero (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004, US\$ 22.95), is, indeed, a useful introduction to this towering icon. In *Quitting America: The Departure of a Black Man From His Native Land* (New York: Plume Press, 2004, paper US\$ 15.00), activist Randall Robinson speaks out against the United States from his adopted home in St. Kitts. *Ethnicity, Class, and Nationalism: Caribbean and Extra-Caribbean Dimensions*, edited by Anton L. Allahar (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2005, paper US\$ 26.95), is a strange brew of political science and sociology, covering several Caribbean sites as well as Turkey and Fiji. *Slipstream: A Daughter Remembers*, by Rachel Manley (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2001, paper US\$ 13.50), is a gracefully written memoir of the author’s relationship with her father and his friends, a rewarding read for anyone interested in the Manleys’ life and times. *Temples of Trinidad*, by Anthony de Verteuil (Port of Spain: Litho Press, 2004, cloth n.p.) is an ambitious architectural tour of churches, mosques, temples, and other houses of worship throughout the island, with text and photos, by this prolific Trinidad author.

More miscellanea. *Pan-Africanism in Barbados: An Analysis of the Activities of the Major 20th-Century Pan-African Formations in Barbados*, by Rodney Worrell (Washington DC: New Academia Publishing, 2002, paper US\$ 12.00), presents a brief history. *Ciphers of History: Latin American Readings for a Cultural Age*, by Enrico Mario Santí (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, cloth US\$ 75.00), collects seven of the author’s essays on poetry, narrative, film, and intellectual history, with the latter part of the book devoted to Cuba. *Christopher Columbus and the Enterprise of the Indies: A Brief History with Documents*, by Geoffrey Symcox & Blair Sullivan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, cloth US\$ 45.00) is a useful documentary resource. *Laatste gouverneur; eerste president: De eeuw van Johan Ferrier, Surinamer*, by John Jansen van Galen (Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV, 2005, paper € 15), is a lively biography of the Republic of Suriname’s first president, based on the author-journalist’s interviews with the 95-year-old Ferrier in the

spring and summer of 2005. *Grassroots Governance? Chiefs in Africa and the Afro-Caribbean*, edited by Donald I. Ray & P. S. Reddy (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003, cloth US\$ 49.95) includes a single Caribbean case study (Jamaica). *X Marks the Spot: The Archaeology of Piracy*, edited by Russell K. Skowronek & Charles R. Ewen (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006, cloth US\$ 59.95), presents scholarly considerations of various wrecks and other sites associated with pirates. *Searching for Sugar Mills: An Architectural Guide to the Eastern Caribbean*, by Suzanne Gordon & Anne Hersh (Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2005, cloth US\$ 24.95), presents walking and driving tours of heritage-type sites in Anguilla, Antigua, Barbados, the British and U.S. Virgins, Dominica, Grenada, Saba, St. Barts, St. Eustatius, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Martin, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago, with Martinique and Guadeloupe inexplicably omitted. *The Jewish Diaspora in Latin America and the Caribbean: Fragments of Memory*, edited by Kristin Ruggiero (Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2005, cloth US\$ 67.50), includes three Caribbean chapters – two on Cuba and a fascinating contribution by William F.S. Miles on the role of Jews (and the ways they are regarded) in Martinique, with much information that was entirely new to us. In *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2005, paper US\$ 23.95), M. Jacqui Alexander gathers together a series of her essays on queer studies and other transnational feminist theorizing, much of it with a strong engagement of Caribbean realities. In *Tropicana Nights: The Life and Times of the Legendary Cuban Nightclub*, by Rosa Lowinger & Ofelia Fox (New York: Harcourt, 2005, cloth US\$ 26.00), the owner's widow gives a journalist the low-down on what went on in this most legendary of Batista-era Havana nightspots. In *Latina Legacies: Identity, Biography, and Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, paper US\$ 19.95), editors Vicki L. Ruiz & Virginia Sánchez Korrol gather together portraits of the life and times of fifteen women, including five from the Caribbean. *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends*, edited by Christopher Schmidt-Nowara & John M. Nieto-Philips (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005, paper US\$ 32.95), includes one chapter on Cuba and another on Puerto Rico. *The Health and Well-Being of Caribbean Immigrants in the United States*, edited by Annette M. Mahoney (New York: Haworth Press, 2004, paper US\$ 24.95), is a sort of primer for social workers. The reviewer to whom we sent *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*, by Andrew Porter (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004, paper US\$ 29.95), reported that there was not sufficient coverage of the Caribbean to warrant an *NWIG* review.

Several in the realm of economics. *Institutions, Performance, and the Financing of Infrastructure Services in the Caribbean*, edited by Abhas Kumar Jha (Washington DC: World Bank, 2005, paper n.p.), explores the

relationship between infrastructure investment and economic growth in various Caribbean countries. In *Lessons from NAFTA for Latin America and the Caribbean*, by Daniel Lederman, William F. Maloney & Luis Servén (Palo Alto CA: Stanford University Press and World Bank, 2005, paper US\$ 29.95), Mexico's experience is analyzed in detail to assess potential effects on other nations that might join. *Foreign Capital Inflows to China, India, and the Caribbean: Trends, Assessments, and Determinants*, by Arindam Banik and Pradip K. Bhaumik (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, cloth US\$ 80.00), is a highly technical work of economics, for which the Caribbean serves as one of several case studies.

Two on Haiti. *Métamorphoses / Metamorphoses: Sculptures et fer des Bòsmetal d'Haïti / Sculptures and iron pieces from the Bòsmetal of Haiti* (La Roque d'Anthéron: Vents d'ailleurs, 2004, cloth € 29), by Patrice Dilly & Philippe Bernard, is a stunning bilingual catalogue in color, featuring some three dozen sculptures by the metal masters of Croix-des-Bouquets, where oil-drums have been transformed into mainly flat "cut-outs" of mythological (often Vaudou-inspired) beasts as well as historical figures such as Dessalines. The book relates the history of the art as well as the story of its leading practitioners. In *Canada in Haiti: Waging War on the Poor Majority*, by Yves Engler & Anthony Fenton (Vancouver: RED Publishing, 2005, paper US\$ 14.95), two activists expose the role of Canada (and the United States and France) in the overthrow of President Aristide.

Books for the kitchen: *Authentic Recipes from Jamaica*, by John DeMers & Eduardo Fuss (North Clarendon VT: Periplus, 2005, cloth US\$ 12.95), presents attractive recipes (as well as mouth-watering photos) that make us eager to return home to Martinique to try them out. *A Taste of Cuba*, by Beatriz Llamas (New York: Interlink Books, 2005, cloth US\$ 26.95), with charming drawings by Ximena Maier, presents attractive text and numerous recipes that cry out for testing in the kitchen and at the table. From its opening map labeled "Caribbean," which features the (unlabeled) island of St. Vincent at its southernmost edge, to its statement that mangos arrived in the Caribbean "sometime near the end of the nineteenth century," Lynn Marie Houston's *Food Culture in the Caribbean* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2005, cloth US\$ 49.95) fails to measure up. *Puerto Rican Dishes*, by Berta Cabanillas & Carmen Ginorio (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2002, paper US\$ 6.95) is a reprint of the fourth edition of this 1956 cookbook, written by specialists in home economics.

Three works that will interest high school students and casual adult readers. Historian Gad Heuman has written *The Caribbean* in a series called "Brief Histories" (London: Hodder Arnold, 2006, paper £14.99). His own experience with British Caribbean materials makes those parts of the book stronger than the rest, and the book's general brevity of coverage means that it may not be for most readers of this journal. *Makers of the Caribbean*, by

James Ferguson (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2005, paper US\$ 12.95), briskly but responsibly introduces selected Caribbean leaders – in history, politics, the arts, sports, and so forth – for the youth market. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, by Johannes Postma (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005, paper US\$ 24.95) is a summary aimed at high school students.

Books for which we would like to have published a review but could not find a willing reviewer, despite our best efforts, include the following (alphabetically by title):

*After Fidel: The Inside Story of Castro's Regime and Cuba's Next Leader*, by Brian Latell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, cloth US\$ 24.95).

*Black Cosmopolitanism: Racial Consciousness and Transnational Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Americas*, by Ifeoma Kiddoe Nwankwo (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005, cloth US\$ 59.95).

*Bond Without Blood: A History of Ethiopian and New World Black Relations, 1896-1991*, by Fikru Negash Gebrekidan (Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2005, paper US\$ 29.95).

*Caribbean Security in the Age of Terror*, edited by Ivelaw Lloyd Griffith (Miami: Ian Randle, 2004, paper US\$ 29.95).

*The Castro Obsession: U.S. Covert Operations Against Cuba 1959-1965*, by Don Bohning (Washington DC: Potomac Books, 2005, cloth US\$ 29.95).

*The Challenges of Public Higher Education in the Hispanic Caribbean*, edited by Maria J. Canino & Silvio Torres-Saillant (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2004, paper US\$ 24.95).

*Chanting Down the New Jerusalem: The Politics of Belonging to Saint Martin and Sint Maarten*, by Francio Guadeloupe (Amsterdam: Rozenberg, 2005, paper € 26.50).

*The Chinese in the Caribbean*, edited by Andrew Wilson (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2004, paper US\$ 22.95).

*Corruption in Cuba: Castro and Beyond*, by Sergio Díaz-Briquets & Jorge Pérez-López (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006, paper US\$ 21.95).

*Creoles, Contact, and Language Change: Linguistic and Social Implications*, edited by Geneviève Escure & Armin Schwegler (Philadelphia PA: John Benjamins, 2004, cloth US\$ 168.00).

*Cuban Palimpsests*, by José Quiroga (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, paper US\$ 19.95).

*The Cuban Revolution: Years of Promise*, by Teo A. Babún, Jr. & Victor Andres Triay (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005, cloth US\$ 34.95).

*Environmental Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean*, edited by Aldemaro Romero & Sarah E. West (Leusden, Netherlands: Springer, 2005, cloth US\$ 129.00).

*The Experience of Return Migration: Caribbean Perspectives*, edited by Robert B. Potter, Dennis Conway & Joan Phillips (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005, cloth US\$ 99.95).

*Haiti, Rising Flames from Burning Ashes*, by Hyppolite Pierre (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 2006, paper US\$ 49.00).

*Jamaican Folk Medicine: A Source of Healing*, by Arville Payne-Jackson & Mervyn C. Alleyne (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2004, paper US\$ 30.00).

*Living at the Borderlines: Issues in Caribbean Sovereignty and Development*, edited by Cynthia Barrow-Giles & Don D. Marshall (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2003, paper US\$ 24.95).

*Oba's Story: Rastafari, Purification and Power*, by George D. Colman (Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2005, paper US\$ 19.95).

*Not Without Love: Memoirs*, by Constance Webb (Hanover NH: University Press of New England, 2003, cloth US\$ 24.95).

*Pierre Toussaint: A Biography*, by Arthur Jones (New York: Doubleday, 2003, cloth US\$ 24.95).

*Sucking Salt: Caribbean Women Writers, Migration, and Survival*, by Meredith M. Gadsby (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006, cloth US\$ 39.95).

*Unvanquished: Cuba's Resistance to Fidel Castro*, by Enrique Encinosa (Los Angeles: Pureplay Press, 2004, cloth US\$ 26.00).

*U.S. Intervention in British Guiana: A Cold War Story*, by Stephen G. Rabe (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005, paper US\$ 19.95).

A number of new editions of Caribbean works have been published during the past few years. One is a new, thoroughly revised and augmented edition of Pierre Grenand, Christian Moretti, Henri Jacquemin & Marie-Françoise Prévost's monumental, 816-page *Pharmacopées traditionnelles en Guyane: Créoles, Wayapi, Palikur* (Paris: IRD Éditions, 2004, cloth € 85), originally published in 1987. With color photos of most of the plants discussed, plus chemical analyses of many of their properties, this is a stunning work. We did see small errors (e.g., the authors don't get Quassie's discovery of *Quassia amara* quite right) and were unable to find various plants that we know are part of the Creole pharmacopeia. On the whole, though, a landmark publication.

The second edition of Bernardo Vega's *Como los Americanos ayudaron a colocar a Balaguer en el poder en 1966* (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 2004, paper n.p.) includes newly released transcriptions of telephone conversations between President Johnson and close advisors which support Vega's analysis of the way the State Department, the CIA, the FBI, and American troops in the Dominican Republic combined to determine the outcome of the 1966 election.

With its original (ca. 1969) foreword by Graham Greene and a new, sober preface by Diederich, the reprint of *Papa Doc & the Tontons Macoutes* by Bernard Diederich & Al Burt (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2005, paper US\$ 28.95) remains the classic journalistic account of the period. *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People 1492-1995*, by Robert Debs Heinl & Nancy Gordon Heinl, and revised by Michael Heinl (New York: University Press of America, 2005, paper US\$ 49.00), is the third edition of this thick journalistic history originally published twenty-seven years earlier. *The African Experience in Spanish America*, by Leslie B. Rout, Jr. (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2003, paper US\$ 24.95), reprints this pioneering work, with an introduction by Miriam Jiménez Roman and Juan Flores. *Afro-Cuban Myths: Yemayá and other Orishas*, by Rómulo Lachatañeré (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2004, paper US\$ 24.95), is an English-language version of Lachatañeré's 1938 *Oh, Mío Yemayá!*, with an introduction by Jorge Castellanos. *Monsieur Toussaint: A Play*, by Édouard Glissant (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005, paper US\$ 15.95), is an excellent English translation, by Michael Dash in collaboration with Glissant himself, of this classic. *Gardening in the Tropics*, by Olive Senior (Toronto: Insomniac Press, 2005, paper US\$ 9.95) gives new life to this robust collection of poetry first published a decade earlier. *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1492-1900*, by Gordon K. Lewis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004, paper US\$ 22.00), is the welcome reprinting of this classic of Caribbean intellectual history, now with a new introduction by Anthony P. Maingot.

Reprints of more recent Caribbean books. *Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music from Rumba to Reggae*, by Peter Manuel with Kenneth Bilby and Michael Largey (Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press, 2006, paper US\$ 25.95), is a revised and expanded edition of this excellent overview. *Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity*, edited by Anthony Tibbles (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2005, paper US\$ 40.00), is the second edition of a fine catalogue that accompanied the opening of the Transatlantic Slave Gallery at Merseyside Maritime Museum in 1994. *Cave of the Jagua: The Mythological World of the Taínos*, by Antonio M. Stevens-Arroyo (Scranton PA: University of Scranton Press, 2006, paper US\$ 24.00), is the second, revised edition of this 1988 work. *Slavery and the French and Haitian Revolutionists*, by Anna Julia Cooper, edited and translated by Frances Richardson Keller (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006, paper US\$ 29.95), reprints the 1988 Edwin Mellen Press edition. *The History of Cuba*, by Clifford L. Staten (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), reprints the Greenwood 2003 edition of this 150-page summary history. *A Dictionary of Common Trinidad Hindi*, by Kumar Mahabir (San Juan, Trinidad & Tobago: Chakra Publishing House, 2004, paper US\$ 10.00), is the third edition of this useful little volume. *Americas: The Changing Face*

*of Latin America and the Caribbean*, by Peter Winn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006, paper US\$ 24.95), is the third edition, revised, of this wide-ranging textbook.

And reprints of historical classics. In *Writing From the Edge of the World: The Memoirs of Darién, 1514-1527*, by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006, paper US\$ 22.50), translator G.F. Dikkle presents that part of the *Historia general y natural de las Indias* that deals with Oviedo's years in Panama. *The West Indies Before and Since Slave Emancipation: Comprising the Windward & Leeward Islands' Military Command Founded on Notes and Observations Collected During a Three Years' Residence*, by John Davy (London: Frank Cass, 2005, cloth US\$ 125.00), is a digitalized printing of the facsimile edition of 1971, which reproduced the original 1854 publication. *Black Rebellion: Five Slave Revolts*, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2005, paper US\$ 10.75), is another reprinting of this abolitionist classic. *The Economic Future of the Caribbean*, edited by E. Franklin Frazier & Eric Williams (Dover MA: The Majority Press, 2004, paper US\$ 19.95), reprints the slim 1944 original, with a new preface by Erica Williams Connell and a new introduction by Tony Martin.

Finally, we should mention several recent reeditions and translations of our own work. *Les Arts des Marrons* (La Roque d'Anthéron: Vents d'ailleurs, 2005, cloth € 45), by Sally & Richard Price, is a large-format, full-color, expanded version of the 1999 Beacon Press edition – nice enough to make us regret that we ever published it (in English and later in Dutch) in standard format with black and white illustrations. *El presidiario y el coronel* (San Juan: Ediciones Callejón, 2005, paper US\$ 24.95), by Richard Price, with a new preface by Antonio T. Díaz-Royo, is an excellent Spanish translation of the 1998 Beacon Press original. We also note a second edition in English of Richard Price's *The Convict and the Colonel: A Story of Colonialism and Resistance in the Caribbean* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006, paper US\$ 22.95), with a new afterword by the author, as well as a new edition of Sally Price's *Arts primitifs: Regards civilisés* (Paris: ENSB-a, 2006, paper € 18), whose final chapter treats Maroon arts, now with a preface by Maurice Godelier and a new afterword by the author. *Romare Bearden: Une dimension caribéenne* (La Roque d'Anthéron: Vents d'ailleurs, 2006, cloth € 45), by Sally Price and Richard Price, is the French translation of *Romare Bearden: The Caribbean Dimension* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, cloth US\$ 49.95), which will be reviewed in due course in *NWIG*.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Caribbean Rum: A Social and Economic History*. FREDERICK H. SMITH. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. xvi + 339 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

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Exactly when it was that curious investigators began to distill alcohol from derivatives of the sugarcane plant is uncertain. Sugarcane was domesticated in Southeast Asia, probably in Indonesia, and crystallized sugar was common in China and India at least 2,500 years ago. By the twelfth century, European crusaders, especially the Knights Templar, were making sugar in the Holy Land. The process of distillation, mainly conducted by apothecaries, was in its infancy. It is almost certain that they also distilled alcohol, and probably invented the word that became associated with it ever since – *rhum bouillant* – boiling spirits, or *eau de vie de cannes*, also known as “fire water.” In any case, some variant of fire water, the by-product of sugar-making, appears in all the early European languages – for example, *aguardente* in Portuguese or *aguardiente de caña* in Spanish, or maybe even *rumbullion* of early Barbadian English. Alcohol derived from sugarcane precedes the history of Europeans in the Caribbean. Fredrick Smith’s description of the origins of rum may be debatable but he is absolutely correct that the Caribbean experience gave to rum the economic, social, and international reputation that it enjoys today.

The basic assumption permeating *Caribbean Rum* is that from its humble and obscure beginnings in the Levantine Mediterranean (or wherever), rum evolved into a lucrative economic enterprise and eventually a sophisticated and popular beverage. Without the Caribbean connection that would not have happened. Alcohol would have continued to be distilled from sugarcane but the history of rum would have been entirely different. Smith details in this impressively sweeping narrative how rum emerged dominant from a field of several alcoholic options available in the emerging Caribbean societies of the seventeenth century. Most of these beverages, such as *mobbie* from sweet

potatoes or *ouicou* from manioc/cassava, were either brewed or fermented. With the rise of sugar production in Barbados around the middle of the seventeenth century, distilled spirits, as the observant Richard Ligon noted in 1657, became an indispensable corollary of sugar-making. By 1700 Smith estimates that Barbadian sugar producers were already distilling approximately one million gallons of rum, and consuming between 85 and 90 percent of that on the island. Not surprisingly, for centuries afterwards Barbados would remain the locale of the highest per capita consumption of rum in the world. Unfortunately the histories of sugar and slavery often fail to include the importance of rum, just as histories of mining in Peru overlook the importance of coca. Yet both rum and coca were essential to production routine.

Rum production expanded along with the phenomenal increase of sugar production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Demand was driven by several factors. Alcohol consumption formed an integral part of many European, African, and indigenous American rituals. Slave owners regarded it as a cheap, although minimally nutritious, food supplement on their estates. Medical practitioners prescribed rum as an antidote for a variety of ills, from the common cold to scurvy. Buccaneers quaffed it by the gallons and imperial navies copied the habit, issuing substantial daily rations to their seamen for more than three centuries. Ironically, mercantilist policies restrained the production of rum in the French and Spanish Americas but stimulated production in English America. By the end of the eighteenth century rum was a widely popular drink not only throughout the Americas but also in Africa and Europe.

In an excellent chapter called "Identity, Danger, and Escape in Caribbean Slave Societies" Smith meticulously examines many ways in which rum seeped into the iconic and ritualistic structure of Caribbean societies. African religious practice used rum to establish a link between the living and the dead. Free and slave believed that collegiality required drinking rum. It fired the zeal of colonists, slave rebels, and pirates alike. Along with the increasing popularity of rum, therefore, came a sustained, although minimally successful, attack in the Caribbean by evangelical Christian reformers and temperance advocates on rum consumption. These attacks would grow during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the Temperance Movement achieved the legal prohibition of alcohol consumption throughout the United States of America for almost fifteen years. Even across the Caribbean rum consumption declined. But the stimulus for rum production also ran parallel to the forces of prohibition. The devastation of European vineyards by war and disease, the inexorable decline of sugar prices, and marked improvement in the techniques of rum production resulted in significant qualitative improvement that added fillip to the economic value of rum.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, rum had recovered its popularity and general appeal on global markets. Produced in more than 180 countries, rum was the third most popular distilled spirit consumed in the world.

With sales driven by four highly competitive multinational global marketers rum found itself only a few percentage points behind the second-placed brandy in global sales. An inspiring concluding chapter explains why. Rum bottles, Smith notes, “overflow with nationalism,” “express a sense of plantationalism” and “embrace symbols of masculinity.” “Since the beginning of Caribbean rum industries,” he adds, “rum has provided a means of escape from the anxieties and anomie of plantation labor. Today Caribbean rum bottle labels indulge the escapist fantasies of European and North American consumers who feel unfulfilled in their regimented lives. Through the tropical scenes that dominate many rum labels, companies market their product as passages to fun, adventure, and paradisiacal solace” (pp. 235-36).

This is the best book to date on Caribbean rum. Broad in scope, extensively researched, and persuasively argued, it makes a significant contribution both to the subject of rum as well as the history of the Caribbean.

*Wizards and Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity and Tradition.*  
STEPHAN PALMIÉ. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2002. xi + 399 pp.  
(Paper US\$ 21.95)

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Stephan Palmié’s ambitious book makes an important contribution to the study of Afro-Cuban religion, the history of the Atlantic world, and the critique of Western historical categories. Palmié aligns himself with the current of thought that views the Caribbean as a central site for the rise of Atlantic modernity (following James, Williams, Mintz, Price, and Trouillot, among others), taking up its challenge to analyze how colonizing classifications have been naturalized within society and social analysis. Going beyond the questioning of distorting oppositions such as modernity/tradition, science/magic, or civilized/primitive, he examines how Afro-Cuban religious forms and subjectivities have engaged historically with New World modalities of slavery, racism, and commodification.

This book is organized as a series of historiographic essays built around three cases spanning over a century. Unconventional in its structure and wide-

ranging in the scholarship it addresses, it confronts the teleological epistemology on which the concept of Western modernity has been built and suggests its complicity with the enslavement of Afro-Cubans and the stigmatization of their cultural practices. It argues that the effort to expunge Afro-Cuban cultural practices from social life and reduce them to objects of study and display has been tied to the formation of the Cuban nation. The book not only critiques dominant discourses, however, but also seeks to illuminate the cultural forms through which Afro-Cubans have creatively represented, analyzed, and resisted the world that commodified them as instruments of production.

The introductory chapter discusses the marginalization of the Caribbean as an object of study and its treatment as an anomaly by historical and anthropological narratives premised on the civilizing advance of Western rationality. Palmié argues that the Caribbean's significance can only be understood when it is seen as a modern creation formed by the processes that violently transformed the Atlantic region, from the advance of "slave frontiers" within Africa, to the establishment of proto-industrial plantations in the Americas and the rise of industrial capitalism in Europe.

The first chapter is a discussion of José Antonio Aponte, a free Afro-Cuban artisan executed in 1812 as an alleged leader of a seditious conspiracy and made an icon of Creole revolution by historians. Palmié insightfully analyzes descriptions of Aponte's lost book of mysterious drawings and images and the explanation of them Aponte gave under interrogation, documents that have been neglected by historians. He suggests that the book presented a mystical vision of history and a creative analysis of power from the perspective of a literate Afro-Cuban. He excoriates Cuban and U.S. historians (e.g., José Luciano Franco and Philip Foner) in a tone verging on disdain for unjustifiably claiming that Aponte was a modern revolutionary, albeit with African-derived religious ties (e.g., pp. 88-95). Here Palmié cogently critiques determinist narratives that flatten history and ignore subaltern subjectivities. However he neglects to treat as contextualized objects of historical analysis the homogenizing narratives and reductionist authors he critiques, giving readers little basis for understanding how such distorting accounts were produced and accepted.

In the second chapter Palmié argues that the Afro-Cuban religions Palo Monte and Regla de Ocha (Santería) are interrelated moral systems that symbolize for practitioners contrasting models of sociality based, respectively, on contract and reciprocity. He assails analysts who approach these religions as ethnically based retentions from the Kongo and Yorubá of Africa, and asserts that they are hybrid New World creations which reinterpret and recontextualize African and European practices. His discussion focuses on Palo Monte and its use of the *nganga*, a ceremonial object in which the captured spirit of a dead person resides and labors for the *nganga*'s owner, and argues that this form of spiritual contract (or pact) developed as a representation of, and in opposition to, slavery's violent extraction of labor from

commodified humans. In contrast to the efforts of Palo Monte practitioners to control occult powers, he states, Regla de Ocha practitioners seek through communication and reciprocal exchange with the orishas (sacred spirits) to gain their benevolent care.

While Palmié's argument concerning the emergence of these systems of belief contributes to the study of Afro-Cuban religions, his analysis is limited by the schematic dichotomy he posits between the moral worlds of Regla de Ocha and Palo Monte and the limited ethnographic discussion he provides. His neglect of social analysis is exemplified by his use of statements from religious practitioners in Miami and Havana without either contextualizing community or discussing the religious transformations prompted by immigration to the United States.

If we shift our attention from the arena of discursive formations to examine how these religions are practiced and described in daily life in Cuba today (often by people initiated in both and participating as well in spiritism), we may find that there are simultaneously elements of contract and reciprocity, of benevolent care and coercive control, present in both religious systems. These qualities are potentiated in different manners in the two religious systems, but both orishas and *muertos* have a range of behaviors and bonds with humans and these vary with the particular spiritual entity. Many practitioners in Cuba, reflecting the growing integration between these religions, distinguish between them primarily in terms of their speed of operation, ceremonial refinement, and propensity to be used for selfish ends, but regard them as part of *la religión*, an ascending continuum of Afro-Cuban practices.

The third chapter examines how, with the rise of scientific epistemologies and racialized taxonomies in the neocolonial republic, Afro-Cuban religions were cast as a primitive threat to the modernizing nation. As biological theories of race, social evolutionary theories of culture, and liberal theories of rights intersected, Afro-Cubans were legally included within the polity while their religious practices were criminalized and defined by scientists and anthropologists as “witchcraft” (*brujería*), an atavistic African survival. These fetishizing colonial knowledge practices, Palmié argues, continue to shape the nation’s civilizing project, as Afro-Cuban religions (practiced also by “Whites”) have until recently been classified as forms of irrationality.

In the epilogue, Palmié claims that the commodification (equated with monetized exchange) of fetishized Cuban black bodies continues with the violent modernity imposed by market forces on a crumbling socialist regime, as metropolitan tourists seek the sexual services of “black” Cuban women. These observations, illustrated by personal anecdotes, draw the book’s argument into the present and highlight Palmié’s outrage over this ongoing history. His engaged attitude informs this valuable book, whose limitations serve to underline the importance of grasping subaltern forms of subjectivity and refining further our analytical categories.

*The Quest for the Cuban Christ: A Historical Search.* MIGUEL A. DE LA TORRE. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. 202 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

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Interdisciplinary efforts to discuss the expressions of popular religiosity usually rely on the ability to relate meaningfully expertise in two or more academic fields. Some grasp of basic issues in history, theology, anthropology, or sociology helps. What one deplores most in Miguel De la Torre's *The Quest for the Cuban Christ* is the insensitivity to historical processes that have shaped Cuban history and the slapdash approach to the theological considerations that a pertinent reflection on Cuban Christology prompts.

After a cursory and sensation-ridden exposition of the sixteenth-century Spanish conquest and evangelization of Cuba, De la Torre leaps to the mid-nineteenth century and lands squarely on the patriotic turf of José Martí, the apostle of Cuban independence. Whatever Martí says on the subject of the Christ is taken reverentially and without any deconstruction, all the way down to the final section of the chapter, "Martí Reveals a Postnationalist Christ," where the reader is treated to choice Martí passages such as: "God does exist, and I come in His name to break in Spanish hearts the cold and indifferent glass that contains their tears" (p. 42).

The text goes on to consider "The Black Cuban Christ," a promising subject, until it gets bogged down on the moralistic perusal of racial conflicts and massacres in early twentieth-century Cuba. De la Torre extricates himself by announcing that the chapter "will continue the quest for the Cuban Christ by seriously considering Christ's blackness as a source of liberation from the sin of intra-Cuban racism" (p. 47). An appeal to the works of Fernando Ortiz does not suffice to save the chapter. Exponents of Cuban Santería have seen better efforts.

The next stop in the quest is "The Female Cuban Christ." We are told that Columbus's first reaction to the island "was not to the lack of political organization of the island's inhabitants," but to "naked female bodies" (p. 65). An inauspicious beginning which leads on to the expected sequel of the consistent and unalloyed victimization of Cuban women for five centuries. Fidel Castro gets his share of the guilt for having stated in 1996 that Cuba "needed strong men to fight wars, sportsmen, men who had no psychological weakness" (p.

76). *La Virgen del Cobre* and Ochún relieve somewhat all these centuries of oppression, but their connection to the Christological quest depends on verbal legerdemain: "Several U.S. Latino theologians ... suggest that Marianism is not necessarily a veneration of the historical Mary of Nazareth, Jesus' mother; rather, Marianism is a pneumatological issue" (pp. 77-78).

Other Christological models are explored with less gusto. Of much more interest to the average reader may be the perusal of artistic representations of the Christ, which illustrate the breadth of Christologies in artists' minds. Although the virtuosity of the artists represented goes from the sublime to the banal, the effort is not to select the works for their merits, but for their ability to represent different appropriations of the Christ figure. Exilic Cuban artists get the benefit of whichever doubt the author is willing to entertain.

All in all the book reflects more on the university press that sponsored it than on the author's gallant effort to broach a difficult subject without appropriate critical tools.

*Dialogues in Cuban Archaeology*. L. ANTONIO CURET, SHANNON LEE DAWDY & GABINO LA ROSA CORZO (eds.). Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005. xvi + 241 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.95)

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Whenever straitened circumstances arise it is generally the less pressing costs that are eliminated first, and governments feeling the pinch usually include scholarly research near the top of the list for funding cuts. It is therefore remarkable that Cuba has managed, despite the stranglehold which the United States attempts to maintain on the country, to keep archaeological research not just alive but actually flourishing, albeit most certainly not in an economic resources sense. Even with such inane efforts as the barring of five invited Cuban scholars from participating in the 2006 annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in San Juan, Puerto Rico, the United States has not succeeded in dampening the spirit that drives Cuban archaeological work, as it motivates many other types of research in the country.

Yet the achievements of Cuba's archaeologists often go unrecognized because a lack of resources makes publication impossible. As a result, and

with language barriers as an additional problem in communication among various parts of the Caribbean world, Cuba's place in the growing picture of Antillean archaeology has remained far less than sufficiently well known. *Dialogues in Cuban Archaeology* is therefore very welcome as an addition to the small body of reporting in English of the progress that continues to be made in the country. Its ten chapters grew out of a symposium held by the Society for American Archaeology in 2002, which gave Cuban scholars the sort of opportunity for information exchange that was denied them four years later. We owe a considerable debt to the University of Alabama Press for surmounting yet another barrier to Cuban communication, a U.S. Department of the Treasury attempt to derail publication which was thwarted by a lawsuit.

The editors' introductory chapter dispels many of the myths about archaeological work in Cuba, and at the same time reinforces the image of the strictures that surround it. Three essays under the headings "Society and Archaeology: Interaction Between Cuban and American Archaeologists Under the Embargo," "Cuban Contributions to Archaeology," and "On Internationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology" make an important contribution to the understanding of the context within which Cuba is forced to carry on, and of the larger world issues of which the Cuban experience is such a forceful example. Closing with an optimistic assessment of opportunities for collaboration which recent events seem to belie, the chapter is an excellent summary of the island's dilemmas as well as its hopes, both in archaeology and in a wider context.

In the second chapter Ramón Dacal Moure and David R. Watters provide a useful summary of Cuba's archaeological research history, organized into three stages. The presentation, which allows us to appreciate the richness of the Cuban archaeological picture from early days to the present, points to the need for a complementary survey of the country's long and very respectable archaeological publication record.

The remainder of the history section consists of a chapter on the history of Cuba's archaeological organization by Mary Jane Berman, Jorge Febles, and Perry L. Gnivecki; a summary of historical archaeology research by Lourdes S. Domínguez; and an overview of rock art research by Marlene S. Linville. Domínguez's presentation focuses on work in Old Havana, but would have been strengthened by mention of the significant work elsewhere in the country on Spanish-Taino interaction and bidirectional acculturation.

The succeeding section, "Substantive Archaeological Research" includes five chapters which provide a clear picture of the broad array of interests and approaches that mark archaeology in today's Cuba. First, Jorge Ulloa Hung addresses in an intriguing manner the study of early ceramics in the Caribbean. Roberto Valcárcel Rojas and César A. Rodríguez Arce follow with a fine example of the extraction of social meaning from skeletal material and associated artifacts in a presentation on the widely famed burial site

at Chorro de Maíta, a study which deserves a place as recommended reading in North American courses. The section continues with a preliminary but highly interesting study of mythical expressions in the ceramic art of agricultural groups by Pedro Godo. It then shifts to La Rosa Corzo's examination of Cimarron (escaped slave) subsistence, which demonstrates how much information on cultural practice as well as diet can be gleaned from faunal and floral remains, a study that fits neatly with recent work elsewhere in the tropics, notably in the Maya area. The section ends with Theresa A. Singleton's archaeological study of slavery at a Cuban coffee plantation, valuable both for its depiction of slave life in Cuba and for its relationship to archaeological research on slavery in other parts of the Caribbean.

The volume closes with a brief afterword by Samuel M. Wilson, who begins with a cogent survey of the economic and political problems besetting archaeology in Cuba. He follows this with an examination of signs that despite the mindless obstructionism the country faces, Cuban archaeologists will find ways to continue work and to communicate the results to their colleagues. If he is right, perhaps Antillean specialists and non-Caribbeanists alike will learn not only from the archaeological information recovered through Cuban research but also from the Cuban experience as an example of what can be achieved in the face of adversity. *Dialogues in Cuban Archaeology*, though in truth a series of monologues, gives rise to the hope that, U.S. government efforts to the contrary notwithstanding, there will in time be a fully free exchange of information between Cuba and the rest of the archaeological world.

*Blackface Cuba, 1840-1895*. JILL LANE. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. xi + 274 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

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This book's impressively concise, descriptive title in fact reflects a provocative argument: blackface performance was vital to the rise of Cuban national identity during the three anticolonial wars with Spain. Readers familiar with the path-breaking work done in the 1990s on nineteenth- and early twentieth-

century blackface in the United States – most notably Eric Lott’s *Love and Theft* (1993) and Michael Rogin’s *Blackface/White Noise* (1996) – will hear echoes of those works’ broad arguments about the importance for national-cultural self-fashioning of blackface’s “deeply demeaning love” (p. x).

However, Jill Lane does not simply move Lott, Rogin, *et al.* off (the U.S.) shore. Rather, aside from passing mention of U.S. minstrel companies visiting Havana during the U.S. Civil War (pp. 61, 71), she jettisons comparison with the United States nearly altogether, arguing that a U.S./Cuban comparison would lead to mistranslation of both performance practices and “the transcriptions of ostensibly ‘black’ speech” (p. ix) that accompanied Cuban blackface. Her broader argument about the function of blackface in Cuba’s developing nineteenth-century culture almost reverses the arguments made about blackface in the United States, where it served ultimately to solidify a clearly delineated Black/White racial hierarchy (though it also, according to some scholars, expressed an ambiguous cross-racial “love”). In Cuba, Lane asserts, “blackface performance was a central vehicle for the expression of *mestizaje* as a national ideology” (p. 3), even as it worked to secure White privilege by “masking the material exclusion and suffering of indigenous and *mestizo* citizens” (p. 4).

Lane’s analysis centers on Cuban *teatro bufo*, a popular style of comic musical review whose polyglot elements might be best conveyed by the 1868 self-description of the Bufos Torbellinos troupe: “Cuban, dramatic, bufo-minstrel, lyric, choreographic, and mime company” (p. 60). Her research in Cuban archives is nearly heroic in scope, and serves as the basis, in her first two chapters, of a fully fleshed-out, subtly detailed history of Cuban expressive culture – in both theater and literature – before the advent of *bufo* and during its rise. Her remaining chapters then pursue the permutations of *bufo* and critical and expressive responses to the form in the period 1880-1895. Throughout, Lane works at the difficult task of reconstituting dramatic and musical performance practices recorded only (and only fragmentarily) in writing, keeping her acutely analytic eye trained on practices of racial impersonation, separation, and intermingling on stage and in social spaces. Thickening her descriptive analyses of theater, Lane also attends productively to the nuances of voice in Cuban writing in a variety of genres of fiction and non-fiction. Despite its representations of all sorts of Cuban people and its vacillating claim that the mixture – the *ajaco* or stew – was what made Cuba and Cubans, *bufo* was a form that served primarily (White) *criollos*. Consequently, Lane considers the practices and voices of “other” – particularly Black – Cubans, holding these representations up against *bufo* representations to reveal the constraints Blacks worked under and the many methods they deployed to struggle for cultural and social space. In her own masterful analytic mixture, Lane makes the compelling case (bending Habermas and other theorists of the “modern” public sphere) that the emergent public

sphere of Cuba was reliant less on the technology of print than on “the technology of performance – of theatre, dance, and music and of impersonation, embodiment, and spectatorship” (p. 107). Lane’s analytic model should be of great interest to scholars working across the Americas and the circum-Atlantic world(s) in the anti- and postcolonial eras.

*Blackface Cuba* does have some flaws. Aside from the image on its cover, which is never referred to or analyzed in the book, it is wholly without illustrations. The effect is to make Lane’s descriptions of blackface and “brownface” (and presumably also “Chinese face,” something she does not dwell on) general and abstract, leaving readers who aren’t well-versed in Cuban cultural and art history wondering what, for example, *costumbrismo* lithography looked like and how it related (or not) to the various “faces” deployed on stage. A bit more detail on some of the international connections of *bufo* would also have been useful. Did these Cuban performers ever perform elsewhere? Did Cuban exiles encounter blackface elsewhere and to what effect? And Lane might profitably have addressed some of the other (potential) borders of identity in performance. Is there evidence of any form of actual, material “whiteface” performance in Cuba (as, say, part of carnival)? Did Blacks ever don blackface, as they sometimes did in the United States? Finally, though she begins with a brief anecdote of blackface *bufo* at Teatro Martí in Havana in the late 1950s, Lane never returns to this moment (or any other after 1895) to suggest, even if briefly, how blackface continued through Cuban culture.

Quibbles aside, and enriched by this excellent and already ambitious book, we can only hope that Lane will fill in some of these gaps, and open yet more exciting new territory, in similarly fine future work.

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*Cuba's Military 1990-2005: Revolutionary Soldiers during Counter-Revolutionary Times.* HAL KLEPAK. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. xi + 340 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00)

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This volume is an invaluable work from an author who has both unrivalled knowledge of the Cuban Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias (the FAR) and clear admiration for their mixture of professionalism and commitment. Klepak's prodigiously wide and deep knowledge of the Cuban reality gives him an excellent understanding of how the often bewildering Cuban political system functions and a familiarity with its strengths and weaknesses. In short, this is a book only he could have written. It is particularly welcome because of all the preconceptions usually expressed in the less specialist literature on Cuban politics or in U.S. political circles.

Klepak is careful throughout to provide a clear historical context, necessary for an understanding of the nature, purpose, and role of the FAR. The contextualization does indeed add a necessary dimension to the analysis, especially with regard to the seminal years of the 1960s. At that time, he observes, the FAR was often more important than the still inchoate Party (with which it frequently had less than warm relations), evolving as a revolutionary and atypical military force, an experience which still shapes its corporate attitude and its status in Cuba.

Klepak's well-written treatment of the critical 1990s (when an unprecedented and potentially terminal economic crisis forced a devastating reduction in the FAR's numbers and profile) highlights the mixture of challenge, opportunity, and fear that beset all arms of the Cuban state. Here he refutes the idea, held by many at the time, that closer ties between the FAR and the Interior Ministry (MININT) meant that the FAR was now responsible for internal order. Indeed, he demonstrates the opposite, namely that the FAR was seconding individuals to MININT but institutionally backing off from a coercive role. As he argues convincingly, the FAR was clear throughout that its revolutionary purpose precluded it from being used against the Cuban people, even as popular unrest increased in 1994. In fact, Klepak shows, the cuts in the FAR's budget (and thus in its strength and effectiveness for such coercion) were perhaps greater than in any other part of the Cuban apparatus,

making less convincing the usual claim about the FAR's repressive role in ensuring survival.

However, in one area the FAR has been crucial to survival, making a conscious decision (along with the Cuban leadership, one of whom – Raúl Castro – is of course the FAR's head) to spearhead economic reform to save the Revolution. Here this book serves as an invaluable source of reference, outlining the astonishingly wide array of economic activities in which the FAR has become involved, usually with great efficiency and certainly to great effect. As for the frequent accusations of corruption arising from such an involvement, Klepak is typically (and repeatedly) cautious and even-handed, taking the position that, while the opportunities are clearly there and while there has been evidence of privileged status and a few cases of outright corruption (notably General Ochoa in 1989, which he explains well), the FAR has generally kept its hands clean and its public legitimacy intact.

Klepak's perspective on the crucial area of Cuba's military relationships abroad also shows a sensitivity to nuance. He paints a picture of the Cuban-U.S. military relationship with a surprisingly high degree of mutual respect and cooperation (what he usefully calls confidence-building measures), especially in matters pertaining to drugs, migration, and even Guantánamo. Anyone interested in the complexity of U.S.-Cuban relations, beyond the official hyperbole, could benefit from consulting these chapters. Because, as Klepak points out, U.S. indifference to Cuba, and ignorance of it, are often a greater threat to security than any formal hostility or military strategy toward the island, the key to conflict resolution in this area lies in Washington and not Havana. The chapter on the FAR's external relations beyond the United States is also as good a discussion of Cuban foreign policy as one could find – comprehensive, detailed, revealing, and subtle.

The volume contains two further jewels. Chapter 7, an essay on the domestic context of the contemporary Cuban political scene, provides an astute balance sheet of the strengths, weaknesses, dilemmas, and perspectives of a complex phenomenon. And Chapter 8 explores the distinctions between the FAR and the “typical” Latin American military (which Klepak also knows well).

The result of all this is a correction of long-standing misconceptions in the literature and in political circles. While Klepak rightly argues that the FAR is perhaps the only Cuban entity capable of “holding the ring” (p. 240) in any transition, he also observes that it is the only one with the will and the legitimacy to do so. As such it is an entity that deserves to be better understood and taken seriously, along with Raúl Castro, usually depicted as the hard-line and unimaginative ideologue but here presented, justifiably, as someone with considerable ability, subtlety, and importance. Klepak has thus provided a necessary antidote to preconceptions and an exceptionally worthwhile service to our understanding of Cuba.

*Capitalism, God, and a Good Cigar: Cuba Enters the Twenty-First Century.*  
LYDIA CHÁVEZ (ed.). Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2005. x + 253  
pp. (Paper US\$ 21.95)

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Studies of present-day Cuba are rarely satisfying for readers seeking balanced assessments that capture the complexity of a country undergoing rapid change. As John M. Kirk and Peter McKenna (1999:214) put it, “Trying to understand Cuba is not an easy undertaking ... Cuba is far from a straightforward entity, a fact that complicates any attempt to decipher its often contradictory reality. It is also a society that evokes strong visceral passions on both sides of the ideological divide.” With *Capitalism, God, and a Good Cigar*, Lydia Chávez succeeds in gathering essays and a series of photos that depict the nation in transition. The volume embraces and evokes the nuances essential to understanding this island’s dynamic culture and recent history.

Perhaps the study impresses most for what it does *not* do: it does not rely on limiting dichotomies that separate those unsympathetic to the Revolution from its sympathizers; it does not employ statistics to tell the story, thereby removing all human actors from the stage; and it does not erase contradictions and dissonance. Instead, it shares the stories of real people who exhibit compassion, engage in conflict, and lead lives replete with contradictions.

Every essay in the collection portrays individuals. While a few of the subjects are well known – like the writers Antón Arrufat, Raúl Rivero Castañeda, and Alberto Guerra, featured in Ezequiel Minaya’s piece – most are known only to their families, neighbors, and co-workers. Daniela Mohor examines the island’s tobacco industry through the eyes of the workers Rolando, Zoe, Pancho, and Marta in the countryside, contrasting their perspectives with those of workers in Havana’s Partagás factory and in the national cigar export company. The daily routines and diverse perspectives of the four women in the city of Manzanillo, introduced by Alici Roca, remind us that constructs such as “the Cuban woman” cannot begin to express the range of individual experiences. This study is sensitive to the vastly different ways in which Cubans experience their Cuban-ness and participate in constructing their nation.

Many of the contributors to this volume reflect on the position from which they approach their subject. In the closing essay, Ángel González travels to Cuba to meet his relatives and learn about his great-great grandfather who,

from the time of his childhood in Venezuela, has loomed larger than life. In sharing his personal journey, he acknowledges that the teller's connection to the story invariably influences the way it is told.

Contributors to the volume bring a variety of perspectives and experiences. They carry passports from Brazil, Chile, France, Germany, Mexico, the United States, and Venezuela, and wield tools from the professions of journalism, photography, film, and education. Megan Lardner observes the immigration phenomenon through the experiences of Spanish entrepreneurs who, like their ancestors, establish new lives on the island but barely rub shoulders with Cubans in doing so. Olga R. Rodríguez introduces readers to several "True Believers" from Spain, the United States, and El Salvador who settled in Cuba, and whose reflections on life in revolutionary Cuba range from enthusiastic to disenchanted. John Coté covers Cubans' increasing connectedness in cyberspace. His discussions with *informáticos* (computer geeks) – both state workers and independent entrepreneurs – and his comparison of Cuba's situation with that of some other Latin American countries suggest that the scarcity of phone lines and computers may be the decisive factor in impeding some Cubans from logging on. The collective vision displayed by the essayists in *Capitalism*, grounded as they are in multiple geopolitical and disciplinary arenas, moves readers beyond such binaries as Havana-Miami, inside-outside, them-us. Instead, the volume propels readers into what Henry Louis Gates, Jr. has called the "multi-directional flows" that characterize the contemporary world.

More than seventy black-and-white images round out *Capitalism*. The photographs of Mimi Chakarova resist the all-too-prevalent tendency toward nostalgia. She focuses, for example, not only on the 1940s and 50s cars that so many tourists and photographers find appealing, but also on forms of transportation used by locals – a bicycle, a motorcycle, a bicycle taxi, and a Russian Lada. Even the backgrounds of these photos attest to Cuba's complexity. Framed within Chakarova's viewfinder are iconic images of Ché Guevara, General Castillo Agramonte, Fidel Castro, Camilo Cienfuegos, and José Martí – as well as those of Alicia Alonso and Jesus Christ. Although a series of photos often tells more about the photographer's perspective and biases than about the places and faces being represented, the images in this volume serve to augment the understanding of the written texts.

Readers of *Capitalism, God, and a Good Cigar* come away with a sense of this island as complex and ever-changing, and an appreciation for the process through which (as the subtitle indicates) Cuba enters the twenty-first century. Highly recommended for anyone who has spent time in Cuba, and essential for anyone who has not – particularly readers who have been relying on U.S. media accounts to shape their impressions of life on the island.

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*Prospero's Isles: The Presence of the Caribbean in the American Imaginary.* DIANE ACCARIA-ZAVALA & RODOLFO POPELNIK (eds.). Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2004. xvii + 299 pp. (Paper £11.95)

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To evoke Shakespeare's *The Tempest* as a framing device for purposes of conducting postcolonial critique is to run the risk of exploiting what is by now a well-worn strategy to the point of hyperstylization. The contributors of this important volume of essays, however, avoid such a trap by deploying the Prospero/Caliban trope with a clever difference. Intent on reorienting the spatial understanding of literary and cultural production in the Americas according to a south-north axis, the editors evoke Shakespeare's play not, as important Caribbean-authored works before them have, to unsettle the legacy of *European* colonialism in the Caribbean, but rather to apprehend the full extent of the effect of U.S. imperialism in the region on literary and cultural production, particularly in the United States: "Once a Caliban to a British Prospero, in the process of decolonisation the United States renegotiates its role and becomes an *American* Prospero to the *Caribbean* Caliban" (p. 3). In turn, the contributors to *Prospero's Isles* persuasively challenge "the paralyzing notion that the 'dominated' group is merely a recipient, never a producing, communicating contributor" (p. 4) to the cross-cultural dynamic adhering to the Prospero/Caliban-esque power play between a U.S. "center" and a Caribbean "periphery."

This collection might well have been titled *Prospero's Repeating Isles* given how many of its chapters are expressly indebted to Antonio Benítez-Rojo's influential study, *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective* (1992) – perhaps too uncritically, to the point that contributors' arguments often sound a suspiciously celebratory tone

and a numbing sameness of sensibility. Not coincidentally, the first chapter is authored by Benítez-Rojo himself (and translated by Andrew Hurley). Entitled “Reflections after Seeing *Guys and Dolls*,” the chapter charts an intricate set of linkages between U.S. and Caribbean musical styles and forms. Writes Benítez-Rojo, “The truth is, for many years Cuban music and American music had been carrying on a dialogue. This conversational interchange was made possible by the fact that both contained elements from two ancestral strains – European music on the one hand and African music on the other.” Thus he proposes understanding such music as constituent parts of a larger “Afro-Atlantic” musical phenomenon (p. 22).

In a similar vein, contributors across the collection’s five sections – Music, Architecture, Literature, Cinema, and Television – limn a cultural cartography of Caribbean influences on the “American” imaginary, defined alternately by contributors as U.S. American and in more inclusively hemispheric terms. They do so with startling insight. In a richly suggestive chapter centered on the architecture of Puerto Rico’s Central Aguirre Sugar Company, owned and operated by U.S. businessmen by the late 1890s, Enrique Vivoni-Farage shows how Puerto Rico’s architecture came to be irrevocably influenced by CASC’s building structures and designs. Yet influence, Vivoni-Farage speculates, most likely tends in multiple directions. If North American corporations ushered into the island “new” architectural styles, such colonizing designs were likely indebted to West Indian plantation styles injected into the New England architectural scene by enterprising merchants plying the West Indian trades in the late eighteenth century, only to be re-introduced into the islands by their economic and cultural inheritors a century later in what we might term a multidirectional creolization of creoles North and South, mainland and island, Yankee and West Indian.

Such keen observations recur across the collection’s various chapters. In Section 3, literary scholars reveal how important U.S. and Caribbean “conversational interchanges” shape the character of authors and their texts, including European American writers “gone” Caribbean such as Louisa May Alcott and Ernest Hemingway, as well as writers constituting the Caribbean diaspora in the United States, such as Harlem Renaissance figures Eric Walrond and Claude McKay. Accordingly, Maritza Stanchich argues that writers of such diverse origins as William Faulkner (Mississippi) and Wilson Harris (Guyana) share a common “circum-Caribbean” imagination that extends from the “Plantation” and defies efforts to characterize such authors according to strict ethnic, racial, or national boundaries. Likewise, Felipe Smith understands Jamaican-born writer Claude McKay’s immigrant imagination to be inflected by uniquely Caribbean rhythms and cadences, a “diasporic ‘sensitivity’” capable of producing works marked by what Smith eloquently terms “improvisational alternative modernities. The performance of these alternative modernities is the sixth act of the *Tempest*, the diaspora

subject's ascendancy to 'spiritual mastery' through cultural colonisation of the metropole" (p. 165).

The collection is not without its limitations. Its ambitious historical scope means that many epochs in U.S.-Caribbean relations can only be thinly treated (the early U.S. national period, much of the nineteenth century, and the last half of the twentieth century). Likewise, given that the "Literature" section comprises the vast majority of the chapters, the collection evinces a pronounced hierarchy of generic representation. In addition, only infrequently is the selection of writers or artists for treatment surprising. Finally, more than a few contributors, in their understandable impulse to dismantle received, binary ways of understanding U.S. and Caribbean cultural exchanges, ironically risk erecting new essentialisms: in their hands the United States becomes a monolithic geographic, social, and cultural entity always in need of a "mystical or magical" Caribbean influence, a "certain kind of way" of being in the world (Benítez-Rojo 1992:11). Such shortcomings might more generously be conceived of as points of departure for future scholarship seeking to build on this collection's laudable impulse to demarcate the crucial ways in which the Caribbean Caliban has inflected the U.S. Prospero's cultural imaginary.

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*The Masters and the Slaves: Plantation Relations and Mestizaje in American Imaginaries*. ALEXANDRA ISFAHANI-HAMMOND (ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. x + 161 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

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*The Masters and the Slaves* is an ambitious cross-cultural study of plantation symbolics and race relations across the New World. The anthology takes a major step toward extending the geographic scope of Atlantic Studies, most

notably by recuperating Brazil in the analysis of postslavavery societies in the greater Caribbean region. Informed by recent cultural theory, this “transcolonial remapping” allows for a more complex reading of Latin American and Caribbean discourses of hybridity and *mestizaje*, which are often perceived as paradigms of cultural progress and social and political inclusiveness in the American academy. All of its essays attempt to dispel the principal myths of Latin American and Caribbean assimilationism, while also casting doubt on the stability of the Black/White racial dialectic in the United States.

The book is the culmination of the American Comparative Literature Association Conference held in San Juan, Puerto Rico in April 2002. The anthology brings together the research of scholars in the fields of ethnic studies and comparative literature, as well as Caribbean, American, and Latin American studies, and focuses primarily on non-fiction texts. Alexandra Isfahani-Hammond’s excellent introduction draws parallels between the diverse topics and theoretical angles of the contributors, and advocates a more interdisciplinary approach to Atlantic Studies. Taking her cue from Antonio Benítez-Rojo (1996), she urges scholars to consider the legacy of slavery and the nationalist discourses following abolition “from a post-plantation rather than a ... shared language perspective” (p. 4).

As the title suggests, this collection will appeal most to those interested in Brazilian cultural theory. Indeed, four of the nine essays in the anthology concentrate on Brazil. Those by César Braga-Pinto, Alexandra Isfahani-Hammond, and Jossiana Arroyo address the work of Brazil’s renowned sociologist Gilberto Freyre, for whom the northeastern sugar plantation was the sacred site of Brazil’s foundational myth of a truly miscegenated and racially harmonious society. Braga-Pinto and Isfahani-Hammond demonstrate how Freyre positioned himself as the privileged narrator/informant of Afro-Brazilian traditions. Thus, as Isfahani-Hammond illustrates in “Writing Brazilian Culture,” miscegenation à la Freyre is first and foremost a symbolic – not a genetic – transformation that involves only the Luso-Brazilian man. In “The Sugar Daddy: Gilberto Freyre and the White Man’s Love for Blacks,” Braga-Pinto shows how this symbolic miscegenation is informed by “transitory” sexual experiences – both homosexual and heterosexual – between White men and Blacks. Since they are relegated to the private sphere, these interracial exchanges deny Afro-Brazilians and homosexuals agency in the public sphere. The White ethnographer’s ability to speak for the subaltern underscores the virility of the highly adaptable Portuguese man, who has the knowledge – and the power – to travel back and forth between center and periphery. In “From the Tropics: Cultural Subjectivity and Politics in Gilberto Freyre,” Jossiana Arroyo discusses the sociologist’s later theories of *tropicalismo*, placing them in the broader geopolitical context of the cold war. She argues that *tropicalismo* emerges in reaction to U.S. interventions in Latin America and the Caribbean, allowing Freyre to imagine Brazil as

an alternate sphere of influence in the region. Luisa Moreira's essay, "The Rhythm of Macumba: Lívio Abramo's Engagement with Afro-Brazilian Culture," examines the intersection of politics and race from the perspective of an unusual collaboration between a socialist artist and a poet aligned with the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas.

While this anthology covers a lot of ground in terms of the variety of genres and societies represented, it is disappointing that only half the articles bridge more than one cultural perspective at a time. This speaks in part to "the territorial compartmentalization of the academy," duly noted by Isfahani-Hammond in the introduction. Another indication of the need for greater communication across disciplines is the mention of "Mayotte Capécia" in two of the essays. It is surprising that scholars outside Francophone studies are not aware of the elaborate literary hoax surrounding the publication of *Je suis martiniquaise* (see Makward 1999 and Arnold 2002, 2003a, 2003b).

Essays that approach topics from a comparative angle include those by Ramón Grosfoguel, Valery Kaussen, and Nalini Natarajan. Grosfoguel's "Hybridity and *Mestizaje*: Syncretism or Subversive Complicity? Subalternity from the Perspective of the Coloniality of Power" is an incisive critique of postmodern readings of hybridity as a "syncretic" process. He maintains that the New World is not made up of independent nations, but rather of "neocolonies," in which the same structures of inequality (epistemological, political, economic, racial, and sexual) that were instituted under colonial rule have been replicated. Kaussen's "Race, Nation, and the Symbolics of Servitude in Haitian *noirisme*" examines the internalization and re-appropriation of colonial racial constructions in the nationalist literature of Haiti during the American occupation, drawing useful connections to Martiniquan *négritude*. Subramanian also focuses on Haiti, in "Blood, Memory, and Nation: Massacre and Mourning in Edwidge Danticat's *Farming of Bones*," positing the "imagined community of the dead" as a contestatory force that uses memory as its weapon. In Helena Holgersson-Shorter's "Authority's Shadowy Double: Thomas Jefferson and the Architecture of Illegitimacy" and Nalini Natarajan's "Fanon as 'Metrocolonial' Flaneur in the Caribbean Post-Plantation/Algerian Colonial City," architecture serves as a metaphor for the colonial ethnoclass structures in Virginia and Martinique. While Holgersson-Shorter questions the stability of the Black/White binary opposition underlying the U.S. plantation system, Nalini Natarajan analyzes the complex way in which Fanon's dual identity as a Martiniquan and a transplanted *intellectuel engagé* in Algeria influences his theorizations of postcolonial Martinique and colonial Algeria.

*The Masters and the Slaves* is a welcome contribution to Atlantic Studies, and is sure to inspire further interdisciplinary collaboration in the field.

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*Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*. DAVID J. WEBER. New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2005. xx + 467 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

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This is undoubtedly a work of fine scholarship, showing a deep appreciation of the historical processes and trajectories that shaped interactions between *vecinos* and *indios* in Spain's American territories. Weber nicely uses the rhetorical contrast between barbarous savages and enlightened Spaniards to focus on the period of the reformist Bourbon monarchy in Spain (1700-1808) and its policies and actions in America. Implicit in this survey is the critical question of whether at this time the Spanish throne effectively divested itself of a legacy of violent and rapacious conquest, gleefully rehearsed by Spain's imperial rivals since the early sixteenth century, to become a true exemplar of Enlightenment.

The historiographical model followed, one of centers and peripheries, borderlands and shifting zones of colonial rivalry, gives appropriate emphasis to the dynamic and often rapidly changing demographics and political structures of the colonial world. In turn the histories uncovered are of the socio-

logical, political, and economic kind. As with the essays in the recent third volume of the *Cambridge History of Native American Peoples* (Solomon & Schwartz 1999), the myriad forms of resistance, persistence, and evanescence in native ways of life is strikingly outlined. Thus Weber provides a clear and engaging overview of the ways in which Spanish political, evangelical, and economic policies created for native peoples a common landscape of engagement with the colonial powers. By extension, the ways in which non-Spanish colonial rivals consistently used the Americas as a forum for the prosecution of European wars and conflicts, as well as a context for emerging national destinies, also acted to stimulate similar kinds of social change throughout the Americas which are painstakingly documented in this work.

The work is comprehensive, but risks being compendious, and therefore does not always give appropriate emphasis to the great variety of information that is presented, or evaluate its local meanings in quite the right way. Miskitos, Guajiros, and Caribs are all excellent examples of certain kinds of historical and sociological processes that, given the uniformity of Spanish policies, created analogous situations and indigenous responses to them. However, at the same time attention to this tends to ignore the critical ways in which those seemingly similar phenomena were embedded in local processes. This is not a standard argument, perhaps more usually heard from historians, for some form of blinkered particularism, but rather a plea to recognize that a comparative evaluation of local processes, instead of a comparison of the formal similarity of social and cultural traits that emerged from such processes, is what is needed. The work of historians and anthropologists over the last two decades has revealed the promise for all kinds of highly detailed local histories and also opened up possibilities for other kinds of historiographical analysis.

For example, in a book such as this which is explicitly directed toward the "Spaniards and their Savages," the work of imagination and representation is little discussed. Although the frameworks of some of the key Enlightenment authors, particularly Alejandro Malaspina, are conscientiously outlined, certain critical matters remain unaddressed or are rather quickly passed over. The idea of cannibalism was critical to not only Spanish thinking, but also to the Portuguese, in the shaping of imaginative and material relationships with the native population. From the moment of Columbus's first voyage, even until today, the association of American Indians, especially in South America, and the practice of anthropophagy – which became "cannibalism" only through the transliteration of native ethonyms such as Calina or Calibi – has been indelible and of great historical significance. This was because of the way in which both formal legal codes and strategies of conquest and slavery by the Spanish were structured around the notion of cannibalism as a justification for such actions, which made the discourse around cannibalism, for both the Spanish and their savages, a highly charged political arena. Also

apparently overlooked in this book is the question of how “blackness” and its political partner “marronage” may have played in to native resistance and Spanish polices for reform. Indeed the notion of the “indigenous” is never itself questioned despite the importance in some regions, as Weber acknowledges, of the presence of Dutch, French, and English plantations and slaves to the unfolding histories of the eighteenth century.

This valuable resource perhaps most readily compares to John Hemming’s compendious works on Brazil, *Red Gold* (1978) and *Amazon Frontier* (1987). But as in those books, the effort to extract intelligible accounts of historical process common across such vast regions of time and space has meant bypassing a different and even more interesting project – delineating the cultural context of Enlightenment thought and its connection to the picturing of the *bárbaros*.

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*Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados, 1627-1660*. LARRY GRAGG. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. xiii + 217 (Cloth US\$ 74.00)

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Larry Gragg opens his preface (p. vii) by declaring: “This book challenges the view that the seventeenth-century English sugar planters of Barbados were architects of a social disaster” – i.e., the view that I advanced in *Sugar and Slaves*, published in 1972. So before I take up Gragg’s challenge, let me explain how and why I arrived so many years ago at my “social disaster” position.

Back in 1961-1962 when I began to work on *Sugar and Slaves* I spent a year in London trying to discover the “real” seventeenth-century history of Barbados, the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica from the manuscripts in the Public Record Office and the books and manuscripts in the British Museum. At that time very little had yet been written on the beginnings of English sugar cultivation in the Caribbean, or about the initial importation of slave laborers from Africa to the English islands. The sparse secondary literature was of small help to me because the focus was almost entirely on English warfare with the Spanish and French or on petty political and constitutional developments within the English island colonies. And it was not easy to penetrate the files of Caribbean correspondence in the Colonial Office records. The formulaic dispatches to and from Barbados revealed very little about social or economic developments on this island. When I visited Barbados later in the 1960s, the tourist guidebooks assured me that I was in “little England,” but the place didn’t seem very English to me, and I wondered why I was focusing on the doings of seventeenth-century White people when the population today is over 90 percent Afro-Caribbean. Aroused by the Black freedom movement of the 1960s in the United States, I wanted to find out how slavery got started in Barbados before it spread to North America, and what early slave life was like in the West Indies. Stimulated by the practitioners of what was then the “new” social history in colonial North America, I wanted to find out how the early White colonists responded to the novelty and dangers of life in the tropics. So I searched for social records about the seventeenth-century Caribbean colonies – with primary focus on Barbados – and when I pieced these records together I concluded that life in early Barbados was extremely different from seventeenth-century England and even more different from early Massachusetts. Three features of Barbados society seemed particularly distinctive: amazingly quick riches for the most aggressive and entrepreneurial Barbadian Whites, quick death for most Whites and Blacks alike, and brutal White exploitation of Black labor. This for me added up to a recipe for social disaster.

Larry Gragg tells a much more upbeat story in *Englishmen Transplanted*. His book is thoroughly researched, well-designed, and clearly argued, and he describes more comprehensively than any previous historian the tremendous changes that took place in Barbados within a very short time span between 1627 and 1660. His focus throughout is on the remarkable success of the English settlers who started the sugar revolution in the Caribbean and quickly built their small colony into the most important English commercial center in the New World. He also argues, as his title suggests, that the early colonists in Barbados did everything they possibly could to replicate on their tropical island the society that they came from in England.

I have no quarrel with Gragg’s account of the economic achievement of the first-generation Barbados sugar planters in the 1640s and 1650s – a

theme strongly emphasized in *Sugar and Slaves* and by all succeeding commentators. He tells this story well, and demonstrates effectively that a relatively small number of English merchants and early settlers who invested substantial wealth in the island were both the chief progenitors and the chief beneficiaries of the sugar revolution. Rejecting the notion that the Dutch played a vital role during the 1640s and 1650s, he tracks the activities of several dozen leading Englishmen who invested in Barbados sugar production and who also managed the early importation of slave laborers from Africa. Gragg also discusses the labor issue at length. He describes how thousands of impecunious Englishmen migrated voluntarily to Barbados as servants, even though they were treated very harshly and mostly ended up in poverty, and argues that the planters quickly switched from English servants to African slaves in the 1640s and 1650s for economic rather than racial reasons. Gragg emphasizes the extraordinarily brutal treatment meted out to the servants and especially to the slaves, and then normalizes this treatment on the grounds that the English colonists saw their African workers as belonging to a subhuman species perfectly tailored for enslavement.

In Gragg's Barbados, Englishmen are the only inhabitants who matter. He spends many pages detailing the colonists' efforts to transplant English governmental institutions: a representative Assembly, an appointed Council, a colony-wide code of laws, and a web of local parishes with Anglican churches offering religious services, courts, and justices to keep the peace, and troops of militia to maintain order. Of course the English colonists in North America also transplanted English governmental institutions. The real issue is how the colonists used or abused these institutions. Gragg celebrates the rapid development of a Barbadian social hierarchy in which the elite sugar planters completely dominated all aspects of society – in emulation of the aristocracy at home. But I would argue that they went well beyond the aristocracy at home in exploiting the poor Whites and especially the African slaves to their own narrow advantage. Reading *Englishmen Transplanted* makes me realize how I indulged in moralistic overkill when I excoriated the Barbados planters in *Sugar and Slaves*. But I stick to my conclusion (Dunn p. 335) that the early Barbadians have a lot to answer for. Their social formula, "a small cadre of white planters driving an army of black slaves, was totally without precedent in English experience. Once established, it shaped three centuries of Caribbean life."

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*Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World.* JON F. SENSBACH. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2005. 302 pp. (Cloth US\$ 22.95)

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This book is an excellent microhistory of a West Indian-born Mulatto slave woman named Rebecca who gained her freedom, converted to Christianity, joined the Moravian Church, and played a critical role in the beginning of that group's missionary efforts among slaves on St. Thomas during the 1730s and 1740s. Rebecca then traveled with the Moravians to their settlements in Germany and was ultimately assigned to work with her new husband on the Gold Coast in West Africa, where she died, alone and forgotten, in 1781. Sensbach skillfully describes the places and events relevant to Rebecca's life and those of her Moravian co-workers throughout her odyssey, and with this illustrates the interconnectedness of Africa, the Caribbean, and Europe on a personal level. He relies primarily on Moravian records, including letters written by Rebecca and voluminous reports, diaries, and community and church records. From this he concludes that Rebecca played a critical role in the mass conversion of slaves on St. Thomas in the mid-eighteenth century. This occurred much earlier than it did in the British Caribbean, in the North American colonies, or anywhere else in Protestant lands for that matter. Sensbach speculates that the missionary-slave experience on St. Thomas became a model for the spread of evangelical religion throughout the New World, as "black Pietism" radiated outward across the Caribbean and to North America. This made Rebecca, Christian Protten (an African-born mulatto man who became her second husband and a Moravian missionary as well), and other black and mulatto missionaries the "earliest harbingers of what would become an international evangelicalism spanning the Atlantic in multiple directions" (p. 241). This is a good Atlantic study that sheds light on important old questions regarding the conversion of African and African American slaves to Christianity. Sensbach expertly describes the context in which the St. Thomas conversions occurred and shows how the Moravians brought them about. Initially White missionaries who were against slavery offered literacy and decent treatment to slaves in the missions. Then Black and Mulatto preachers and assistants worked among the slaves and eventually induced them to convert. Most of the converts and many of the missionaries

were women. The missionaries overcame violent resistance from other slaves and especially White inhabitants as they worked. A crucial turning point came in 1739, when the Moravians bought a plantation with slaves to provide a spiritual refuge for their further missionary efforts. This meant that they could continue their mission, attracting slaves from throughout the island who could worship without fear of attack, at least while on Moravian property. But it also meant that the Moravians had bought into the slave system. In fact, at the same time they began preaching obedience to the slaves and the importance of preserving social order. Therein lies the crux of the problem in terms of interpreting the experience of early mass conversion by African slaves to Protestant evangelical religion: Was it a radical act on the part of the slaves, or did conversion help to undermine slave resistance and support slavery?

This is a difficult question, more complex than many realize, but Sensbach favors the view that there was a radical, liberating element to slave conversion, especially for women. He argues that conversion and preaching helped Rebecca to escape the “traps of race and gender that snared so many women. Evangelical religion was the vehicle that carried her across geographic and cultural borders, and her skills as a leader and teacher provided an entrée to another life” (p. 200). Sensbach stresses that conversion and preaching allowed unknown people “to claim spiritual authority for themselves” (p. 238). They helped to spread “Christ’s liberating grace” to slaves (p. 239), and Christianity provided slaves with an ideology of resistance.

Was conversion really radical? Yes, as long as it brought the promise of emancipation, equality, and literacy, and as long as the planters violently resisted it, all of which happened on St. Thomas before 1739. It is more difficult to argue that conversion was radical after the White missionaries began supporting the slave system. Here it is important to focus on Rebecca and the role of Black/Mulatto agency. After the White missionaries began to support the slave order, it was primarily slave and ex-slave preachers like Rebecca who led the conversion efforts, and they may not have been preaching a conservative message. If they continued to promote elements of the earlier radical message, those efforts would explain why slaves on St. Thomas continued to convert and why the planters continued to resist this movement, in spite of White Moravian pleas that they were supporting the slave order. After 1739 the slaves may have been buying something that the White missionaries were not selling. Eventually Whites became satisfied that Christianity was “safe,” and it is less clear that conversion or the Christian experience was radical. Some of Rebecca’s own writings later in her life that seemed to promote the social order suggest that the movement was becoming less radical over time, but it is still uncertain what the majority of slaves believed about these issues in the eighteenth century.

While we are not yet in a position to answer the question of radicalism, the Moravians’ careful documentation of these early experiences and

Sensbach's astute analysis and presentation are bringing us closer. His view of St. Thomas as an Atlantic Protestant model needs to be substantiated, but historians have undervalued the role of Moravians and slaves on St. Thomas, and it is also clear that the Moravians were the first Protestants to take a mission to African slaves seriously. St. Thomas very likely was a model for the rest of the Protestant Caribbean, but we cannot yet say whether this was the case for British North America. Nevertheless, Sensbach's attempt to connect these events and influences to the later abolition movement (pp. 243 ff.) is not farfetched, as Denmark was the first to ban the Atlantic slave trade in 1802.

*Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery.* JENNIFER L. MORGAN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. xvi + 279 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

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*Laboring Women* is part of the interdisciplinary Early American Studies Series edited by Daniel K. Richter and Kathleen M. Brown. The series aims at “exploring neglected aspects of our [presumably U.S.] colonial, revolutionary, and early national history and culture” (p. ii). But the geographic focus includes the English West Indies, in particular Barbados. The series also purports to reinterpret “familiar themes and events in fresh ways” (p. ii). This book comes closer to the second objective than the first, as the themes covered are, indeed, familiar. Since the 1970s, historians have argued consistently, and demonstrated conclusively, that gender was critical to the ways in which enslavers organized production and reproduction in the plantation systems of the Americas. Still, no discourse is ever really closed and Morgan mines inventories, wills, and other data sets to expand the empirical base of the subject of the role of reproduction in the plantation systems of the Americas. She also attempts to reinterpret these data in order to test the durability of old conclusions. But her claim on p. 11 that “initially I conceived this book as a way to revise what I saw as a fairly significant obfuscation in the historiography of slave societies – namely that ‘slave’ equaled ‘man’” is certainly a curious comment for a 2004 book, given the long history of gender/women’s studies.

Conscious of the varying contexts within which the enslaved and enslavers led their lives, Morgan uses comparative methodology to draw attention to the continued need to understand the divergences and complexities of slavery in disparate geographical contexts, even while identifying unifying ideologies and mentalities that determined a common set of experiences on the part of the enslaved. More specifically, she poses relevant questions relating to women's bodies under enslavement. "Does the significance of reproductive potential ... transcend the significance of New World commodities and territories?" (p. 2). And was the ability to reproduce the labor force the most important factor unifying women's experiences across time and space, regardless of the type of commodity produced or service rendered, or indeed the place where they served their enslavement? Morgan insists that reproduction was central, not tangential to the slavery project and confined to the so-called "pro-natalist" nineteenth century, a point that is not stressed enough by those who crunch comparative demographic data on the Caribbean and the United States.

These questions are problematized over six chapters. The themes, texts, and visual representations contained in Chapter 1 are familiar and deal with the process of constructing Black women as the colonial "other" in order to exploit them. Morgan rehearses the interplay between European writers' notions of African women's sexual identities and the development of racist ideology, reinforcing the ideas that the willingness to exploit African women's labor became intimately tied to ideas about reproduction. The demographic profile in the trade in Africans to the Americas is revisited in Chapter 2, with hardly any new conclusions. Morgan addresses the rationale for the gender composition of the trade, debating, like other scholars, planter preference, age, ethnicity, skill sets, and prices. She stresses that women and children together outnumbered adult men in the slave trade, but is still forced to conclude that overall the trade was male dominated.

Chapter 3 explores enslavers' appropriation of enslaved women's reproductive lives and argues that speculation about women's childbearing capacity was a natural outgrowth of slave ownership. As Morgan puts it (using probate inventories and wills to demonstrate this effectively), "slaveowners from Jamaica to Johns Island invested their hopes in the reproductive capacities of their human property" (p. 87). Such appropriation terrorized women's bodies and sense of self. The book's discussion of Black women's African background, which is insufficiently diverse, almost essentializes African women's occupational roles. The importance of this chapter is its exploration of the contradictions between enslavers' ideological views of Africa and African women (and their attempts to legislate the perceived differences), and their actual relations with them.

Chapter 4 discusses the ways in which enslaved women experienced the claims upon their wombs. Morgan shows that even as enslavers built

their lives around women's reproductive capacity, some women, where they could, refused to collaborate. She provides firm evidence of abortifacients – still a hazy matter in American history. She revisits the theory of creolization, a necessary result of population growth through natural means/interracial sex, and its meaning for parenthood (a status both acknowledged and dismissed), cultural change, and African ethnic presence. Chapter 5 covers familiar themes in African-American women's history, including women's productive roles and their ubiquitous presence in the field with few avenues of escape, compared to men's opportunities of upward mobility.

Chapter 6 questions enslaved women's power within the slave system (including "reproductive power") and examines their multidimensional reactions to enslavement. Morgan reinforces the presence of reproductive forms of resistance and rehearses the old debate over resistance and accommodation, which, despite her suggestion, few scholars now view as binary opposites. Those familiar with the historiography of resistance and the debates over definition could find this chapter annoying. But on the other hand, no study of the slave system can be complete without including agency.

In the end, this is an attempt to recast the history of racial ideology by centering gender and exploring how the categories of race and gender informed each other. The book is important in showing that there is still a need to center women's reproductive identities and the implications of women's reproductive capacity for the meaning of enslavement. Talk about integrating such themes in the "general history of the Americas" remains just that – talk.

*Race and Labor in the Hispanic Caribbean: The West Indian Immigrant Worker Experience in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico, 1800-1850.* JORGE LUIS CHINEA. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. xv + 272. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

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This book, originally a doctoral dissertation at the University of Minnesota, was written against the backdrop of José Luis González's classic *El país de cuatro pisos*, and can be read as a rich conversation between an archive-

researched piece of history and a literary essay. By documenting the trials and tribulations of West Indian foreigners in their migration to the sugar-producing coastal plain, Chinea meticulously qualifies the now dominant vision of José Luis González, "second story," which refers to the nineteenth-century Whiteness of the Puerto Rican population. Always respectful of the classic, he stops short of a direct engagement by characterizing his own book as a modest study of Caribbean migration to Puerto Rico during the first half of the nineteenth century. Yet *El país* seems to provide the orientation to the work reviewed.

Chinea conscientiously documents – in thirty pages of endnotes – the breadth and scope of the migration of foreigners from the Antilles to Puerto Rico. He painstakingly gives life to the majority of them as "people of color," whether slave or free (p. 6). The methodology to document his research proves to be ingenious. Holding the presumption that official documents "only partially captured or revealed the actual participation" (p. 8, see also pp. 7, 9) of nonwhite immigrants, he looks for them in the documents' "silences." His search for the silences puts E.P. Thompson's interrogation of evidence "by minds trained in a discipline of attentive disbelief" to effective use.

This research has relied on embarkation licenses, population censuses, church registers, and notarial records, but in order to document the silences he has examined, among other sources, naval, military, public safety, consular, immigration, passport, and population files (p. 14). Chinea consulted archives in San Juan, Seville, and Madrid, as well as at Johns Hopkins, the University of Florida, and the Library of Congress. The principal source for his database derives from a careful, time-consuming examination of an impressive nineteen-reel file, *Extranjeros en Puerto Rico, ca. 1800-1845*, housed in the National Archives in Washington (p. 68). Additionally he relies on the slavery series at the Archivo General in San Juan to document slave purchases in the Caribbean (pp. 176-77).

*Race and Labor* effectively reconstructs a bustling Puerto Rico deeply intertwined with the Antilles by the multiethnic and multicultural character of its littoral. The coasts of the island provided refuge and safe havens to a heterogeneous mixture of émigré plantation owners, artisans, runaway slaves, and female-led families. The bulk of Chinea's work relies on the files of 1,421 heads of household of West Indian provenance who migrated to Puerto Rico along with 720 relatives and dependents (p. 72). They amounted to some 26.3 percent of all officially documented foreign migrants. Their real number is considerably higher, as he shows, on account of three other groups. First, there were free people or runaway slaves, who were undocumented. Second, upon the British abolition of the slave trade many planters turned to the Lesser Antilles as a source of coerced labor (p. 107). And finally, some of the Europeans arrived in Puerto Rico after a sojourn in other Antilles (pp. 73, 91).

About 40 percent of the 1,421 officially documented foreign heads of household migrating to Puerto Rico between 1800 and 1850 did so from French colonies, principally from Saint Domingue due to the revolution (pp. 75-76). The next highest number were those from the Dutch and Danish islands. Demographically speaking, the West Indian migrants were typically single, young, free, “Colored” men (and a small number of women) who sought to improve their station in life by seeking better jobs or access to land (p. 81). Chinea ably documents how, upon arrival, they faced the local version of racism – conceptualized as a caste system – that they had already experienced as a constraint to social mobility and work opportunities. Most of them worked at the lower end of the scale of occupations as “tradesmen, rank-and-file soldiers, *curanderos/as*, street musicians, small-scale bakers, and seafarers” (p. 101).

Unfortunately, *Race and Labor* does not provide a nuanced view of the social and economic conditions of the island during the 1750-1800 period that occupies much of the book. Chinea homogenizes these conditions into a “pre-plantation era” (pp. 14, 34-35, 28-65) characterized by “subsistence farming and cattle ranching” (p. 19) or “*hatos* and *estancias*” (p. 114). This characterization misses a lively commercial agriculture centered around tobacco smuggling for the Dutch and a slaveholding plantation sector that he, nevertheless, is aware of in his description of a plantation belt stretching from Toa Baja to Canóvanas in the northern littoral (p. 37).

To depict the resistance to official Spanish rule, he ably uses, modifies, and amplifies Quintero Rivera’s counter-plantation (pp. 15-16, 144, 146). He also refers to the ethnogenesis of a *jibaro* culture associated with the transformation of the remnants of the Indian population (p. 32). Herein lies a paradox that the book fails to explain. Chinea refers to Puerto Rico in the late eighteenth century as a pre-plantation society during a period in which it developed a counter-plantation type of resistance to Spanish rule.

Joining María del Carmen Baerga, David Stark, and other scholars who are currently studying the Black and Mulatto components of Puerto Rican society during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Chinea has provided a refreshing depiction of the West Indian contribution to Puerto Rican society based on impressive and extensive archival research.

*Revisiting Caribbean Labour: Essays in Honour of O. Nigel Bolland.* Constance R. Sutton (ed.). Kingston: Ian Randle, 2005. xviii + 150 pp. (Paper US\$ 14.95)

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Separately and collectively, these essays are a fitting tribute to the pioneering scholarship of O. Nigel Bolland and his award-winning *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean* (2001). Extending his insights from the Anglophone to the Hispanic Caribbean, and from the upheavals of the 1930s to the present, they examine the pivotal role that labor has played, and continues to play, in shaping not only the political culture of the region and its history, but also its domestic and social organization.

In the context of the Caribbean, labor is both local and global, built on the voluntary and involuntary in-migrations from Europe, Asia and – especially – Africa. Conversely, fluctuations in the market of the global commodities resulted in out-migrations of labor, within the region, and then beyond, providing one more unique feature of the global/local nexus of the Caribbean. But if this conduit between the worker and the world is one legacy of the Caribbean, another is the social cleavages based on race which long confused the categories of class, and obscured those of gender. The history of labor in the Caribbean is necessarily the history of race and any contemporary analysis of labor relations must be predicated on historic (if not current) racial (and gender) divisions. If the experience of race serves as a unifying factor of the region, the old Imperial divisions continue to divide it – by language, commerce, communications and, still, by scholarship. The linkages are, however, there in the shared histories and experiences, the political movements and intellectual currents, and through the migrants and itinerant traders.

It is these themes, the internationalization of labor, the linked region, and the salience of class that are the focus of this collection of seven essays. The first, by Antonio Lauria-Perricelli, is a sharp critique of the complex relationships between working-class dissent, political parties, nationalism, and the United States in Puerto Rico in the 1930s. A key theme – which runs through the collection – is related to the development and transmission of historical consciousness and its corollary, historical memory. A key emphasis, equally apparent throughout the volume, is the agency that working people were able to exert on transforming political direction. In Puerto Rico, the widespread

disturbances that began with the tobacco growers' boycott of 1931 formed the backdrop to the decade as workers sought mechanisms through which to express and organize (and survive) discontent. Lauria-Perricelli also draws attention to two key areas demanding urgent scholarly investigation – the level of international support extended to working-class struggles and the ways in which those struggles were supported on the ground, including who gave food, succor, and shelter to whom.

While Lauria-Perricelli raises the international linkages in the struggles in Puerto Rico in the 1930s, Karla Slocum's essay on the labor struggles of the 1990s by St. Lucia's banana producers explores the impact of the global market on their living and working conditions. Required to change long-established practices for a lower return on their goods, the banana producers formed a Banana Salvation Committee (BSC) to challenge the government and the activities of its agent, the St. Lucian Banana Growers' Association (SLBGA). Significantly, the producers – all small farmers – translated themselves into the position of laborers and thus assumed a class relationship vis-à-vis both the government and the SLBGA, while the BSC was able to subvert the prevailing stereotypes of power and loyalty so that the banana producers, and not the government, were the ones with clout and integrity. Nevertheless, she points out, while the BSC provides an important reminder of the importance of local and national conditions in a global environment, the BSC itself ignored the needs of an important constituency of banana producers and workers: women.

The exclusion of women is a familiar theme in labor history. Rhoda Reddock's essay rescues the role of women in the disturbances in the British West Indies in the 1930s, a role hidden from much of the early historiography, as much as it was hidden from social reformers and even the labor leadership. Locating women's resistance in the *longue durée* of slavery and postemancipation society, she highlights the role women played in the resistance disturbances of the 1930s, culminating in the 1937-38 riots in Trinidad and Jamaica. In the aftermath of the riots, the newly formed trade unions, by promoting the notion of a "family wage," effectively excluded women from membership, representation, and participation in this form of labor activity. Bringing the role of women in trade unions into the contemporary context, E. Lynn Bolles shows in her essay how continuing sexism within the Anglophone Caribbean labor movement continued to make it difficult for women to participate in trade union activity, let alone aspire to leadership positions within it. Echoing Reddock's argument, she points out that women did, nevertheless, participate, despite what was for many of them both struggle and sacrifice, until the 1980s when the Project for the Development of Caribbean Women in Trade Unions developed a program of training for women across a range of skills, resulting in a significantly enhanced level of participation by women at all levels (including leadership) in the trade union movement.

Constance Sutton and John Dumoulin, who have both revisited former sites of research, take two very different approaches. Sutton's essay examines the 1958 wild-cat strikes of sugar workers in Barbados. The sugar workers were the largest workforce, but the most difficult to organize. Yet in 1958, 19,000 of them, almost half of whom were women, stopped work and shut down sugar production for five weeks. The Barbados Workers Union at first disowned them, and then sought to capitalize on their action. For the sugar workers, the strike provided a means of direct action, circumventing the political leadership which many distrusted or did not feel would be sufficiently strong to stand up to their old enemy, the planter. This was one of the longest strikes – perhaps the longest – in the history of Barbados, yet does not figure in national histories except as a vague reference to the 1958 “sugar crisis,” (see, for instance, Beckles 2004). The explanation may be found, as Sutton suggests, in the difficulty of placing the strike in a recognizable narrative of labor heroism: there was no identifiable, male leader, nor was there the dubious glamor of violence. On the contrary, you had spontaneous action over several weeks, with strikers (women and men) sustained in the villages, proving an embarrassment, and challenge, to the newly elected political and trade union leaders.

John Dumoulin's essay examines the changes that have taken place in a remote Cuban sugar-producing community since his first visit in the early 1960s. Then, the village and family life for this mainly Spanish-heritage community was shaped by the sugar workers' dependence on the local mill. Education was limited; men were the breadwinners and women their dependants; unemployment was rife. Although the labor strikes of the 1930s were, by the 1950s, forgotten, the principles they represented – land reform, fair wages – remained. The land reform of the 1960s not only expanded employment but brought a new generation into political activism, opening avenues for promotion, and employment opportunities for women.

A Cuban retrospective is the focus of the final essay in the volume. The commodity here is the iconic Havana cigar. Jean Stubbs traces the production of the cigar and the ways tasks were de-skilled as they were taken over by either women or Blacks (or both). It also follows the migratory route of the cigar itself as émigrés to North America set up shop in the 1890s and, more recently, in other sites within the Hispanic Caribbean. The story is not merely one of challenges to, and appropriation of, an icon. It also reveals the raced and gendered history of the early labor struggles of tobacco workers not only in Cuba but in the United States.

The Caribbean and its labor, as Bolland suggests, has always been at the cutting edge of global trends and this collection of essays is a rich testament to Bolland's original work. Its strengths lay in its cross-Caribbean focus, its thematic diversity, its emphasis on labor as agent of political change, the symbiosis between race, gender, and class and the ways in which narratives

and memories of labor are transmitted and transformed. This is a timely and well-edited volume and points the way – as good books should – not only to understanding the past, but to future directions for research, exploring the development of historical consciousnesses within the region, or teasing out the continuing linkages between the global, the local, and the regional, particularly those “from below.” There is much to be done, not least in incorporating experiences from the French and Dutch Caribbean. Let us hope that this book leads the way.

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Gert Oostindie is probably the person who has done the most in recent years to explain and interpret Dutch Caribbean history, politics, and culture to the not insignificant constituency consisting of those of us who can't read Dutch, to enlighten us on that “illegible and – in part, consequently – forgotten corner of the Atlantic world” (p. ix). This book makes an important contribution to what is clearly a long-term project by Oostindie, who is professor of Caribbean Studies at Leiden University and director of the renowned KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies).

Its publication history is complex: it is an abridged and revised version of a Dutch-language work of the same title, first published in 1997. Oostindie

left out material he felt was unnecessary for English-language readers who were likely to be familiar with the main lines of Caribbean history, and also omitted some entire chapters in the original. Three chapters have already appeared, in English, in other books. Oostindie wrote some sections originally in English, others have been translated from Dutch. The present book, appearing in the long-running and prestigious Warwick University Caribbean Studies series, includes a valuable bibliography (pp. 181-199) with works in English, Dutch, Spanish, French, German, and Papiamentu (and, for all I know, Papiamento also).

The book's rather postmodern origins and complicated history have produced not a narrative history, nor a straightforward account of Suriname, the Netherlands Antilles, and Aruba at the start of the twenty-first century, but seven interconnected essays on particular themes, historical and contemporary. The drawback of this structure is a tendency to repetition, both between chapters, and occasionally within a chapter (for instance, Chapter 4). On the positive side, it gives Oostindie the opportunity to consider a wide range of topics, moving seamlessly between Suriname, the islands, and the Netherlands, and displaying his effortless and erudite grasp of the history, and contemporary sociopolitical situation, of the seven formerly Dutch colonies in the Caribbean.

Chapter 1 offers a survey of "Dutch Caribbean" history – assuming there was, or is, such an entity – which stresses the huge differences between Suriname and the islands, and between the Leewards and the Windwards, despite the very small territorial extent and populations of the six islands (or, strictly, five and a half, since Sint Maarten/St. Martin is famously divided between France and the Netherlands). In addition to these striking diversities, Oostindie notes that the Dutch "civilizing mission" was always very weak; not only did the Dutch colonies have little in common with each other, they shared remarkably little with their colonizing power other than formal colonial rule: "Dutch in name, these colonies were distinct from the mother country in most respects" (p. 20).

In an interesting second chapter, Oostindie examines the debate on slavery and abolition in the Dutch Caribbean through the contemporary (mainly nineteenth-century) literature. That there *was* a debate is made clear, even if it was neither "passionate," nor original in content (compared with the similar literature of the other slave powers), nor important to the Dutch people or even the elites. The literature always focused on Suriname, not surprisingly when we recall that slave labor was relatively insignificant to Curaçao and the other islands by the 1800s while Suriname, of course, was a full-fledged plantation/slave economy.

For this reviewer, Chapter 3, "Stubborn Plurality," was the most rewarding of the seven essays. It is a thoughtful and erudite discussion of the ethnic and class composition of the former Dutch colonies, including very recent

developments. Divisions in Suriname are mainly ethnic (the “pillars” supporting the society), in the islands color and culture (language and Christian denomination especially) are the key principles of stratification, and Oostindie argues that neither ethnic differences in the former nor the color/class hierarchy in the latter seem to be declining in recent years. Suriname, of course, has long been recognized as in many ways the most “plural” of all the Caribbean countries, and Oostindie notes that “simple models” don’t work well when applied to that country, whether in the past or today.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with postwar political developments, dominated by the uneasy relationships between the Caribbean territories and the Netherlands since the 1954 Charter constituted a theoretically equal tripartite partnership between the metropole, the Antilles, and Suriname. In Suriname, Creole (Afro-Surinamese) politicians rather unexpectedly opted for independence, and the Dutch government enthusiastically complied (1975), but the Antilles more prudently (and reinforced by the difficult experience of Suriname since 1975) went in the other direction. Aruba successfully negotiated for “separate status” in 1986 but refused the condition that it would accept independence in the 1990s; the other five islands, still linked together in a sort of federal structure, made it clear that independence was not an option at all. The Hague had to accept that attempting to impose independence on these islands, against the wishes of their politicians and people, would ironically be seen as a high-handed, “colonialist” action – an “absurd scenario,” as Oostindie puts it, yet it is the current reality. Even Suriname is still heavily dependent on the Netherlands for aid. The Hague is unable to disengage, and Oostindie believes that over the next decade there is likely to be eventual fragmentation into six separate polities (following Aruba), and increased direct Dutch administration (“interference”) over the islands in response to issues of “good governance” (corruption, drugs, international crime). Would this mean “recolonization” in territories which refuse “independence”?

Chapter 6 focuses on the relatively large Caribbean diaspora in the Netherlands – there are some 320,000 people of Surinamese origin there today, as compared to 420,000 in Suriname. And Chapter 7 meditates about the efforts to forge usable identities in the islands and in Suriname over the last few decades. Here Oostindie provides a trenchant, occasionally acerbic, yet always sympathetic analysis of how intellectuals and politicians from these postcolonial/recolonized little countries have tried to forge historical narratives to use their colonial pasts to create contemporary identities. Indeed, this is the tone that pervades Oostindie’s interesting book: clear-eyed, pragmatic, unromantic, yet always engaged with, and immensely knowledgeable about, the “Dutch Caribbean” territories that are the subject of this book and the main focus of his formidable corpus of research and writing.

*The Past Is Not Dead: Facts, Fictions, and Enduring Racial Stereotypes.* ALLAN PRED. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004. xxii + 281 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

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The front cover of this book is graced with Gustav Lundberg's 1775 painting of Adolph Ludvig Gustaf Albrecht Couschi, also known as Badin. He was born around 1747 on the Danish island of St. Croix as the slave of the governor of the Danish West Indies, who brought him as a young boy to Denmark. After a few years in Denmark he was given to the Swedish royal court and spent the rest of his life in Sweden. This "child of nature" was educated by Queen Lovisa and eventually given an estate where he settled with his Swedish wife. While he was accepted in court circles, contemporary and later descriptions, as well as cartoons, of Badin show that he remained a racialized other in Swedish society. This intriguing person is the central figure in Allan Pred's book on race and the Swedish national imagination.

In the preface Pred recounts how he, upon encountering the painting of Badin in the National Portrait Gallery, became "fascinated immediately, if not transfixed" by, among other things, the "startling difference" of Badin's portrait: "As a person of color he stood out there, distinctly alone amid countless others, hanging on the wall of the National Portrait Gallery, sharing the space of a magnificent Renaissance castle with national 'heroes' and the textbook famous, an unexpected presence in this Who's Who in Swedish History, in this fortress of national identity construction" (pp. xv-xvi). Pred relates that as he made regular revisits to the gallery, while working on a book on cultural racism in Sweden, Badin "took an ever-firmer grip on my imagination" and his "portrait, and every mention of him, left my mind crowded with questions." By the late 1990s, having "visited a Stockholm museum exhibit where the long-standing stereotype of black hypersexuality was rendered in an absolutely unspeakable manner, and after having read two 1996 novels in which Badin was the principal character, I could not avoid assigning a central role to him in my next project" (p. xvi).

As Pred began his research it became apparent that Badin had already been treated in a great number of more or less fictionalized texts, including two books published as late as the mid-1990s, as well as in several works of art. Badin had clearly captured the imagination of the Swedish people, as

well as that of Pred, whose project became focused on examining Swedish representations, in text and image, of Badin through time. That led to his concern with continuities in past and present stereotypes of Blacks and other outsiders in Swedish society, as expressed in these representations, and, finally, the ways in which such representations have been experienced by those who are represented.

The book is structured as two sets of montages, one focusing on Badin, the other looking at public displays of racial stereotypes from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century. The montages consist of lengthy excerpts from texts, mainly primary sources from the last 250 years, juxtaposed with statements by people of immigrant background describing their experiences with racism in Sweden today, woven together by Pred's reflections. These reflections, and the whole rationale behind the book, are emblemized by two citations in the beginning of the book: "The past is not dead. It is not even past" (William Faulkner) and "Telescoping of the past through the present" (Walter Benjamin). These quotes have inspired Pred to imagine Badin's feelings of alienation through contemporary immigrants' experiences of rejection and discrimination, and to show the roots of the present-day denial of racism in the historical treatment of Badin.

Much of Pred's fulsome imagining takes the form of questions about Badin's feelings concerning his particular situation in Sweden as an individual of high social status, yet generally regarded as belonging to an inferior race. Pred asks, for example, "What divided sentiments, if any, might have evaded Badin's thoughts if he discovered that an expedition dispatched to the Senegal coast in 1787 was designed to explore the possibilities of establishing a Swedenborgian settlement that would also permit the newly born West Indian Company to pursue its slave-trading interests?" And two questions later "What anchors of identity, if any, might Badin have pulled up (again) upon recognizing that the very same people who denounced the gross misrepresentation of Africans, the very same self-styled humanitarians who most vigorously spoke on behalf of those of African origin, did not hesitate to depict them as 'weak, cowardly, and ignorant,' in need of 'a manly and fearless upbringing'?" (p. 100). And about five long questions later the following questions are left hanging in the air: "Was Badin overcome with simultaneous disbelief and resignation? Did he experience keen disappointment? Or a sense of betrayal? The Janus face seen again? Was there a renewed awareness of his out-of-placeness? Was his reaction – whatever its form – one that was totally unforgettable?" (p. 101).

The book reads for the most part like an assemblage of raw quotes from the copious notes Pred has compiled during his research, linked by his heartfelt sentiments concerning how Badin and other Others in Swedish society must feel, or have felt, about their fate. There is no doubt that Pred has a sincere desire to show the historical roots and continued relevance of racial

stereotyping in Sweden. However, by adopting a speculative and poetical writing style where Badin is subjected to a new kind of imagining – that of the morally outraged person who has discovered that Sweden is not the perfect exemplar of racial harmony that it pretends to be – Pred does his cause a disservice. Reading this book I ended up feeling sorry for Badin, who has now been subjected to yet another imagining, this time at Pred's hands. “Othering” is at core a phenomenon rooted in the desire to reduce others to the object of one's own imagining and fantasies. It robs the identity of the “othered” person for one's own purposes. In this case the purpose may be sympathetic. Nevertheless, it ultimately appropriates Badin's personhood, creating another instance of alienated identity.

*Poverty and Life Expectancy: The Jamaica Paradox.* JAMES C. RILEY. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. xiii + 235 pp. (Cloth US\$ 60.00)

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This book argues that Jamaica's gain in life expectancy was led by improvement in public health, schooling, and changes in individual behavior. James Riley, a historian who has written extensively on life expectancy, had access to many sources of information such as vital statistics, archives, library resources, and input from knowledgeable individuals in Jamaica. In the introduction, he presents examples of countries that gained high life expectancies not by economic growth but by emphasizing social justice, access to medical services, food and education, and greater autonomy for women. He considers these factors crucial for explaining the “paradox of good health in low-income countries” (p. 2). Nevertheless, readers will be intrigued when he also states that many poor countries have increased the population survival without evidence for improved social justice or female autonomy.

Life expectancy is a statistical measure calculated by applying available mortality data to a hypothetical cohort of individuals born in a particular year. Thus, life expectancy in Jamaica in 1970 expresses the average age at

which half of the cohort (of those born in 1970) will eventually have died under the assumption that mortality forces remain constant throughout their life. It is not a measure of maximum life span nor does it represent the life expectancy of the population living in Jamaica during 1970. Riley's cause-effect analysis does not properly consider these temporal distances.

The book presents many figures and tables to illustrate changes in life expectancy observed in Jamaica since 1920. But in numerous instances, it uses ambiguous terms not substantiated by evidence to explain the changes. For example: "*most* parishes had ..." (p. 90); "*the schools had* latrines, but never enough of them ..." (p. 118); "in 1950, *most Jamaicans* still did not have piped water ..." (p. 121). The reader is entitled to know: how many are "more" people or "most" parishes, relative to a total? What percentage of the schools, out of the total number, had adequate latrines? Readers will raise these and many other questions.

Riley makes an important statement regarding the hygiene lessons taught in schools: "Moreover, *people had evidently* absorbed these lessons" (p. 120). However, this assertion is essentially called into question later on in the text, where one reads that "until 1950s or 1960s, few people completed more than four years [of schooling]; the schools were poorly served in buildings, equipment, and educational material; and many teachers struggled with their own inadequate training" (p. 192).

Although one must agree with Riley that public health initiatives and education correlate with health improvements in the population, a correlation is not an unequivocal proof of causality. It is also important to recognize that multiple factors play important roles in disease causation and that health initiatives or education do not impact all subgroups in the population in the same manner, as is shown by health disparities observed in many countries. One must also stress that behavior or lifestyle modifications take many years to reach significant proportions in the population. And finally, we have to consider that the latency or incubation periods of most diseases are also measured in years or even decades. Therefore, initiatives to reduce the incidence of disease should impact a considerable proportion of the population before they are exposed to specific risk factors in order to be cited as responsible for gains in life expectancy. Once the disease is present, the strongest modifiers of the risk of dying, as public health studies have shown, are access to early diagnosis and adequate treatment.

To prove that life expectancy is increasing in Jamaica, Riley considers age-specific mortality rates in different cross-sectional time periods. For example, he compares the mortality rates of children 5-9 years old in 1920, 1949-1951, 1970, and 2000. This method controls or minimizes the age-effect in the mortality trend, but misses the opportunity to evaluate the effect of exposures to risk factors as well as to disease patterns that the cohort has experienced since birth. Those individuals that were born in 1920, were 10 years old in 1930,

they were 30 years old in 1950, and 80 in the year 2000. Thus, the impact of schooling, health initiatives and other socioeconomic factors in this cohort's survival could be very different from those of a cohort of Jamaicans born, for example, in 1970. The information for these analyses (birth cohort and period effect) is probably available in Jamaica's health information.

The concluding section of the last chapter states that "in Jamaica, gains in life expectancy up to the 1970s were led by improvement in public health, schooling and changes in individual behavior" (p. 194). But the book's evidence that schooling was effective is extemporaneous and unspecific. Riley's conclusion that life expectancy in Jamaica increased principally because of education and that the decrease in mortality reflects the effectiveness of schooling is *a petitio principii*. Further analysis and alternative explanations that include multiple factors without excluding other possibilities are warranted.

*The Tears of Hispaniola: Haitian and Dominican Diaspora Memory*. LUCIA M. SUÁREZ. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. xii + 224 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

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At the end of the novel *The Farming of Bones*, Edwidge Danticat imagines the Massacre River, located on the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, as a space of memory for Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Her protagonist, Amabelle, describes herself as "half submerged, the current floating over me in a less than gentle caress, the pebbles scouring my back." Hovering between life and death, belonging and uprooting, past and present, Amabelle, whose name epitomizes her own ambiguous identity, represents a novel idea of Haitian and Dominican identity. This borderland river that marked the massacre of the Tainos by the Spanish and later Haitian *braceros* by the Dominican military is construed as the hinterland space of Haitian and Dominican memory. In this fictional scene Danticat questions old ideas of self-definition in the island of Hispaniola. In her preface to René Philoctète's *Massacre River* (2005), Danticat describes visiting the Massacre River in 1995 and finding that this river "filled with ghosts" had become "simply

a tiny braid of water.” The diminished nature of the river makes Danticat’s image of the river as a birthplace, a kind of amniotic fluid bloodied by history, even more forceful, as she envisions a new people “fluid as the waters themselves” attempting to emerge despite the policed nature of this space.

Lucia Suárez is less interested in the capacity of fiction to rethink the past. Rather, as the title of her study states, she focuses singlemindedly on the “tears of Hispaniola.” One never doubts her good intentions but her exposé reduces the complex political tragedy of Haiti and the Dominican Republic to simple melodrama. We are told that “European colonizers arrived in the Caribbean, decided the natives were less than human, and enslaved them” (p. 32). Later, the violence in Hispanic Caribbean culture is explained by “macho bravado … [which] originates in the European ‘discovery’ and colonization of the Americas” (p. 107). If only it were that simple. The tone of the work becomes even more shrill in the many asides and homilies that are scattered throughout the text. Suárez does not mince words in calling Stenio Vincent a “pimp of sorts,” and Duvalier, Trujillo, and Aristide are simply patriarchs enriching themselves at the expense of the people who “come out of their makeshift homes to support a newly emerged father figure” (p. 37). This is the cartoon version of Caribbean politics whose gruesome excesses deserve a more serious treatment.

Since the main aim of this study is to address “human rights issues,” Suárez takes a narrow, sociological view of the literary text, treating it essentially as testimony. Readers are told in the introduction that she “set out to find ways in which literature intervenes constructively against a landscape of death, loss, and violence which the island of Hispaniola and its diaspora have inherited” (p. 8). Just in case we might have missed the point in the succeeding pages, we are reminded in her conclusion that she has “attempted to show the significance of literature as an agent that intervenes in society beyond the strict realm of the aesthetic act” (p. 184). Writing is, therefore, judged essentially in terms of its ability to give voice to silenced horrors. Consequently, she is unforgiving of writers who are less than explicit in their reformist intentions. Junot Díaz fares badly: *Drown* is too ambiguous for Suárez’s taste and she hopes he will mend his ways as “the next book may point to the pain of memory.” Her investment in the idea of the title’s “tears,” which is invoked throughout the text with numbing repetitiveness, leads her to dwell on the grueling details of Jean-Robert Cadet’s autobiography of an “abused slave child,” *Restavek*. The fact that this story might be exaggerated or false is given short shrift in Suárez’s study. Such an approach reduces Loida Pérez’s *Geographies of Home* to “a feminist story that traces [a] journey of self-discovery and self-empowerment” (p. 153). Danticat’s first novel passes muster as a form of therapy since “the autobiographical literature of trauma provides an important opportunity for victims to testify [...] about abuses they suffered” (p. 80). No attempt is made to differentiate Danticat’s fiction from the

testimonies of FAVILEK (*Fanm Viktim Leve Campe*, “Women Victims Get Up, Stand Up”), since all are seen as “acts against violence.” Marie Chauvet’s trilogy, *Amour colère folie*, is also approvingly described as a denunciation of rape, suggesting that Suárez could not have possibly read it.

It would be easy to treat *Tears of Hispaniola* as a dismaying example of good intentions gone awry but Suárez seems to have a personal agenda. Not only does one have the feeling that it is “narrated” in the first person, but it is about giving visibility to Dominicans in the diaspora. The personal aspect of the text is fully unleashed in Chapter 5, which describes Suárez’s own visit to the Dominican Republic. We then realize why the Spanish quotations in the work are not translated since it appears that the primary readership is expected to be Dominican. We are told in great detail of the work of City University’s Dominican Studies Institute and given an approved list of women writers from the Dominican Republic. Haitian writers are arguably not treated with such care. We are surprised to learn that “traditional Haitian literature was written in the ‘we’ voice” (p. 149). Is it true to say that Haitians do not want to remember the massacre of 1937? René Depestre would be surprised to learn that *Face à la nuit* is considered unsympathetic to exploited children by Suárez, who misses its ironic tone. There is certainly need for a sober, sophisticated treatment of the function of memory in the writing from the diaspora created by the turbulent politics of Hispaniola. *Tears of Hispaniola* is not that book.

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*Family Love in the Diaspora: Migration and the Anglo-Caribbean Experience.*  
MARY CHAMBERLAIN. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2006.  
xv + 245 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

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Scholars, policy makers, and demagogues have debated the origin, function, and social consequences of African American family forms for a very long time. In the Anglophone Caribbean, during the late colonial period, family policy and social policy were intertwined, with the issue of the family receiving attention in the Moyne Commission's attempt to understand social unrest in the region. *Family Love in Diaspora* makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of African Caribbean family practices and their transnational resiliency. Through the use of life history interviews across three generations of forty-five families, Chamberlain is able to call upon a rich body of material to address both long-standing questions about the adaptation of family forms to economic conditions, and new questions such as the effect of migration from the West Indies to Great Britain on families and kinship networks.

The central theme of the book is the documentation of how practices associated with West Indian families persist in Great Britain and continue to shape family relationships in Great Britain and kinship networks that span Europe and the Americas. By including in her research sample life histories from people from a wide range of social and economic backgrounds, Chamberlain is able to challenge positions that view West Indian forms as dysfunctional and associated with poverty.

Part 1 of the book documents how the representation of the nuclear family as the ideal family in the colonial Caribbean resulted in a pejorative representation of the African Caribbean family. Chamberlain discusses this mostly in the context of two periods: the late slavery/early postemancipation period, and the period between the unrest of the 1930s and the 1960s, when many of the English possessions in the region gained independence. She describes how during the latter period concerns about the family were linked to concerns about economic and political stability as the colonies moved toward independence.

In Part 2, Chamberlain uses her rich life history data to study family organization as a process unfolding over time and generations. In this way, she builds on the work of R.T. Smith on domestic cycles in Guyana, itself elaborating on Fortes's study of family structures over time. Her processual and

intergenerational perspective lays the foundation for one of the most interesting insights of her book, namely, the persistence of family organization and sentiments over time, space, and economic condition. Rather than arguing that the African Caribbean family organization is functional in contexts of poverty, as some others have done, she is able to describe how it is used strategically in a variety of circumstances. As a result, she successfully demonstrates that this family organization cannot be seen as either the cause or the result of poverty, but rather as a cultural institution that adapts to a variety of socioeconomic conditions and social challenges.

Part 3 examines some of the well-known features of African Caribbean family organizations: the role of grandparents, community involvement in child-rearing, and the importance of siblings, aunts, and uncles. One of the most interesting elements of this section of the book is Chamberlain's discussion of how such family values persist across socioeconomic classes. Moreover, she shows that they remain strong despite the challenges of migration. Neither distance nor differences of class, education, or occupation are sufficient to overcome the resiliency of family and kinship practices.

The last part of the book adopts a comparative perspective. Unfortunately, the penultimate chapter, on Indian Caribbean families, does not meet the same standards as the others. Unlike the groundwork Chamberlain laid for the discussion of African Caribbean families, there is no discussion of traditional family structures in India – even though, in purely temporal terms, Indian migration resulting from indentureship ended in 1917, over a hundred years after the official end of the British trade of enslaved Africans in 1807. She claims that the family and kin practices are different, but because she delves into the features of Indian Caribbean families with less detail than for African Caribbean families, the contrast is not made as clearly as it could have been, and the point that binds the two groups, namely the persistence of family and kin forms in recent migrations, is weakly argued.

In addition, while Chamberlain criticizes demagogic positions that privilege nuclear families as the only functional families, she does not address how the concept of the nuclear family is embedded in immigration laws and how such laws might influence West Indian migrants and their families. Since one of her central concerns is to challenge the way policy makers think, evidence that migration laws privileging European-style nuclear families do not result in migrant populations consisting of nuclear families would have been useful in documenting how these laws are subtly discriminatory, not only toward West Indians, but toward many other migrant populations as well.

These are minor quibbles in the face of the immensely important demonstration that African Caribbean families are resilient to a variety of social challenges, and that rather than being a source of social problems, they are sources of support and strength.

*The Garifuna: A Nation Across Borders.* JOSEPH PALACIO (ed.). Benque Viejo del Carmen, Belize: Cubola Productions, 2005. 270 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.00)

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In 2001, UNESCO proclaimed the Garifuna language, dance, and music a “masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity.” In this book, Joseph O. Palacio and nine other contributors explain why. A blend of the Arawaks and Caribs of the Caribbean with people of African origin, the Garifuna were deported by the British from St. Vincent to the island of Roatan, off the Honduran coast in 1797. By 1802, they dispersed to Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, and, in more recent times, to the United States.

The importance of the ancestors to the Garifuna cannot be underestimated, as several chapters demonstrate. Palacio presents an extraordinary interview with Dangriga’s Mrs. Felicita Francisco. She recounts history heard from her grandmother, who heard it from her grandmother, Gulisi, about 150 years ago. Gulisi said she was born in St. Vincent to Chief Joseph Chatoyer, and came to Honduras as one of the exiles before relocating to Belize. While many Garifuna recognize Alejo Beni as the first Belizean Garifuna, Mrs. Francisco asserts that her great-great-grandmother was the first, noting that Gulisi had “clear skin” yet there was “wide variation in skin color among her descendants” (p. 54). Other villages in Belize were settled later, including the pioneer Martinez family with branches in Dangriga, Seine Bight, and Livingston.

Peter Hulme’s essay offers important translations of eighteenth-century French accounts of the Vincentian Caribs. Mark Moberg discusses the alcalde system in Belize through 1969, noting that “even today ... all long term residents over the age of sixty are able to name the last villager to hold the office” (p. 94). Alfonso Arrivillaga Cortes focuses on Marcos Sanchez Diaz, a military leader and founder of Livingston, Guatemala, leaving unanswered the question of whether Sanchez Diaz’s origins are from French Black slaves via Haiti.

A delightful surprise is the inclusion of material from the late Bryon Foster’s out-of-print *Heart Drum*, which analyzes the *dugu*, the major ritual to placate the ancestors. During the rum-filled *dugu*, which lasts several days and nights, ecstatic possessions may occur, as homage is paid to the ancestors. Foster describes how the central part of the *Dabuyaba* ritual house was formally composed of “a mound of earth termed the ‘heart of the *dugu*’” (p. 169). The rattles used by the medium (*buyei*) represents the human head,

while the “central drum, ‘heart drum,’ suggests that the rhythms symbolize the heartbeat” (p. 170). It is stated that the “body is composed of mud (and cassava starch)” and such substances play key roles. Ancestors journey to the *dugu* from *sairi*, “the afterworld of luxurious manioc gardens” (p. 167) and St. Vincent.

Palacio refers lovingly to the “obsession of the Garifuna with genealogical details” (p. 52). Writing on *dugu* participation, he notes that

the descent lines originating from the ancestors follow through the living participants down the fourth and fifth generations. The living participants can number scores, converging from their homes in Belize, other countries in central America, and the United States. Furthermore, in the conviviality of the gathering many will become acquainted with relatives for the first time. (p. 111)

The importance of the ancestors is illustrated by a *dugu* song, “Our journey has been sad my grandchild / We have been searching for our grandchildren / We have been crossing the deep ocean / For our descendants are far away” (p. 167). Roy Cayetano’s poem also communicates respect for the ancestors: “And the queen’s English shall not quiet the / Drums of my fathers / Rumbling in my bones / Recapturing my soul” (p. 176).

Ethnomusicologist Oliver Greene, Jr. offers an insightful analysis of the John Canoe (*wanaragua*) rite, the yearly Christmas house-to-house procession in which participants dress in British military costumes, along with masks, headdresses, and knee rattles. Greene traces relevant history through eighteenth-century Jamaican accounts and describes West African and even Bantu influences. The procession traditionally occurred as slaves had Christmas off from plantation work, and the symbolism of John Canoe derives in part from “role reversal and empowerment” (p. 207).

Writing on contemporary Belizean Garifuna identity, Gabriel Izard describes a recent Settlement Day banner that proclaims, “Talk Garifuna, eat hudut, dance punta!” Settlement Day, which celebrates Dangriga’s founding, was established by leaders, including popular hero Thomas Vincent Ramos, who was “greatly influenced by ideas of Marcus Garvey and was one of the first Garifuna to support UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association)” (p. 191). Today, visitors to Dangriga may meet the *buyei*, the drum-maker, the painter Benjamin Nicholas, and other Garifuna leaders, and, in general, become immersed in the culture. Miss Garifuna is selected not just according to physical attributes, but on her ability to speak Garifuna, cook ethnic food, and dance punta. Language survival and bilingual education are hot topics among the Garifuna, where in Belize, few children learn it as a first language.

Along with classic works by Douglas Taylor, Nancie Gonzalez, and Virginia Kerns, and a recent book by Carel Roessingh (2001), Palacio’s collection is a must-have for scholars of the Garifuna. Despite overcoming

incredibly inhumane treatment over the last several centuries, some argue that the cultural survival of the contemporary Garifuna is severely threatened. Marion Cayetano and Roy Cayetano write that the threat

comes from the Garinagu themselves as well as from the profound effects of globalization .... They have learned and now even teach the history, language and culture of those who colonized them, while losing their own identity in the process. Consequently their vulnerability has extended to allowing others to define them and their rights further widening an alienation from their own roots. (p. 236)

Yet these essays confirm that the essence of the Garifuna culture continues not only to survive but also to thrive. There is hope.

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ROESSINGH, CAREL, 2001. *The Belizean Garifuna: Organization of Identity in an Ethnic Community in Central America*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg.

*Caribbean Literature and the Environment: Between Nature and Culture*.  
ELIZABETH M. DELOUGHERY, RENÉE K. GOSSON & GEORGE B. HANDLEY (eds.). Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005. xii+ 303 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.50)

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In this reader's well-crafted introduction, the editors remind us that in *The Middle Passage*, V.S. Naipaul attributed the Caribbean's colonial prosperity and decline to small-scale insularity because "the size of the islands called for nothing else" (p. 3). The assertion is debatable because the very smallest places in the region were often ignored by European colonizers and often escaped plantation development. Yet the important issue here is that Naipaul and other famous Caribbean writers have acknowledged and emphasized time and again the region's physical environments, not as colorful backdrops but more often as dynamic mirrors and molds of Caribbean history.

*Caribbean Literature and the Environment* presents a number of original, high-quality essays that add to “the growing field of environmental literary studies” (p. 2). Together with a wide-ranging bibliography, they are useful to those of us with environmental interests in the region but whose awareness of Caribbean literary studies is limited to the region’s best-known writers and those who deal with particular research locales. Besides the editors’ introduction and Wilson Harris’s previously published epilogue, the book has seventeen original essays. Two are interview transcripts, and one is a previously unpublished piece by Derek Walcott. The essays, all in English, each run about fifteen pages in length and cover subject matter from the Caribbean’s major language areas. For the most part, the prose is comprehensible and devoid of excessive quotation marks, intraword slashes, and cryptic terminology. A broad geographical coverage includes several essays devoted to the Guianas, although the editors apologize unnecessarily for regional gaps owing to “an uneven response to our call for papers” (p. 29).

The chapters are organized under four headings: “Natural Histories,” “Myths of Origins,” “Hybridity and Creolization,” and “Aesthetics of the Earth.” These categories work fairly well, although most of the essays would have been just as effective sorted into different groupings. Cyril Dabydeen’s thoughtful article about growing up along the Canje Creek in Guyana, for example, probably could have been included in any of the four categories.

The editors’ introduction points out that Caribbean environmental writing often assumes a conservation-oriented, anti-market bias owing to the centuries of externally controlled exploitation and ecological destruction of the region. From there it is a short step to the gendered metaphor wherein masculine European exploitation historically has penetrated “the feminized and maternal ‘womb’ of Caribbean landscapes” (p. 12). This theme reoccurs elsewhere in the reader, notably in Trenton Hickman’s analysis of Julia Alvarez’s *A Cafecito Story*. The editors do not insist on the gendered metaphor of dominance and exploitation as an overriding theme, yet neither do they reconcile it with Caribbean environmental realities. Although obviously devastated by agents of external market forces over time, the Caribbean environment is hardly a passive entity. Rather, the region’s geophysical ambience can be dangerous, unruly, and highly unpredictable. Yet one searches *Caribbean Literature and the Environment* in vain for even a mention of the earthquakes, hurricanes, and droughts that have punctuated Caribbean history. This reality certainly should be reflected in Caribbean environmental writing, metaphorical and otherwise.

These points are not intended to diminish the strong environmental points elsewhere in the reader. Isabel Hoving’s fine essay dealing with Shani Mootoo’s *Cereus Blooms at Night*, sums up the novel’s analysis of the Caribbean environment not as “an essence from which one could deduce norms,” but as “unstable, inharmonious, damaging and damaged” (p. 164),

thereby capturing the complexity, messiness, and unpredictability in nature that bewilder and fascinate biological ecologists. Eric Prieto's "The Uses of Landscape" explains the ecological relevance of Patrick Chamoiseau's term "urban mangrove" for Texaco and other Martiniquan neighborhoods: "Just as the swampy terrain of mangrove forests allows a mutually beneficial exchange of nutrients and waste between land and sea, the ring of shantytowns surrounding Fort-de-France allows an analogous exchange between city and country" (p. 241). Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert's "He of the Trees" addresses "the articulation of an environmentalist thought linked to religiosity in the Caribbean novel" (p. 183). Her article concludes effectively with a description of the washing away of the Haitian village of Mapou – named after a sacred species of tree – in May 2004. The articles not grounded in environmental specifics are less successful. Shona N. Jackson's assertion that, with political independence, relationships between Guyana's interior and coast never really changed because "the new development discourse of the administration continued to be made in terms set during the colonial period" (p. 95) would have been far stronger had she mentioned, to cite only one example, the massive cyanide spill from a gold mine on the Omai tributary of the Essequibo River in 1995.

Most of the book's essays deserve reading, rereading, and reflection, especially Harris's epilogue in which he cites his own 1968 publication describing the Earth as a moving, fluid entity: "the mountains appeared now like a lofty crest of water ... undulating and refracting ... fluid/solid – water/fire – cauldron of space" (p. 263). His description of a mobile, dynamic planet may strike younger readers as a familiar-sounding introduction to an earth science video, yet when Harris originally wrote this passage most geologists still believed in a static Earth whose macro features derived from planetary cooling or cycles of erosion and sedimentation. Not until the 1970s did geologists accept the idea of plate tectonics and undertake "a massive reinterpretation of the traditional explanations offered for continental phenomena" (Bowler 1993:424). In his writings about the Caribbean environment, inspired originally by his observations of Guyana's interior as a young land surveyor, Harris thereby has provided one more example of art informing science.

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*Ici-Là: Place and Displacement in Caribbean Writing in French.* MARY GALLAGHER (ed.). Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003. xxix + 308 pp. (Paper US\$ 46.00)

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At the conclusion of the conference “*Ici-Là: Place and Displacement in Caribbean Writing in French*,” held in Dublin in 1999, Mary Gallagher cited a character in the movie *The Commitments*, who says that the Irish are the Blacks of Europe. From there she explores further links between Ireland and in particular – the French – Caribbean. As is often the case, places and existences that seem worlds apart collide in the Caribbean. For Gallagher, Lafcadio Hearn is the Hermes figure who links the Irish experience of colonization and insularity to the former French colonies in the West Indies. Her closing remark pushes to the extreme the theme of the conference volume: place and displacement. In a Caribbean context, place seems to imply displacement – here is always already there – for better or for worse. Hence the title *Ici-Là*, a creolism that appears often in Francophone Caribbean texts, which Gallagher, by making a detour to Derek Walcott’s poetry, translates as “here and elsewhere.” She argues that this expression testifies to a “complex, unsettled, and dislocated relation to place” as well as to “a distinct sense of connection and simultaneity between the local and the distant, between here and (over) there” (p. xiv-xv). The crossing of “here” and “there” in the expression *ici-là* condenses issues that are still haunting the Caribbean. First, there is the generalized sentiment of temporal and spatial dispossession. Second, there is a more visionary experience that we are now living in a creolized world, which would turn the Caribbean into an image of a world to come.

Bringing together established scholars in the field such as Celia Britton, Bernadette Cailler, Maximilien Laroche, and Beverly Ormerod, along with a younger generation of academics, the conference brilliantly summed up what has been at the center of attention for French Caribbean literary critics and scholars – time and space. And it is difficult not to see the conference as the point of departure for Gallagher’s own book, *Soundings in French Caribbean Writing since 1950*.

The papers that are presented in the published version cover a large spectrum of fiction, though Martiniquan writer Patrick Chamoiseau is given a particularly important role, with almost a whole section (“Sites of Caribbean

Imagination") devoted to him. Chamoiseau's work, along with that of Edouard Glissant, is subjected to close readings dealing with places and their function in a more textual geography. At first glance these focused textual analyses seem to go against the idea of "here and elsewhere." However, not only is it refreshing to read more monographic approaches in a field dominated by comparative studies, but these readings also show the possibility of concentrating on the local in order to reach the global. In this regard, the two papers on Chamoiseau's *Texaco* turn out to be complementary: Maeve McCusker investigates the smallest entity of Chamoiseau's Caribbean urban vision, *la case*, whereas Roy Chandler Caldwell writes about the novel in terms of a new kind of postmodern city defined by a local "rehumanized" community (p. 37). An excellent paper by Celia Britton explores how the real enters Glissant's fiction through the way in which the writer concentrates attention on specific sites. She convincingly demonstrates the role of place by tracing lexical repetitions as markers of sameness in his writing, which, on a more theoretical level, tends to give priority to diversity and *tout-monde*.

Another strong side of the conference volume is that several texts bridge the two extremes of the Caribbean: poor and isolated Haiti on the one hand, and the assimilated French overseas departments, Guadeloupe and Martinique, on the other. (French Guiana, however, is not included.) Martin Munro's paper deals with the real and imagined postcolonial place in relation to the experience of exile and compares Martiniquan Aimé Césaire to Haitian René Depestre. Martin Munro shows that Depestre does not negotiate his relationship to his homeland in the same triangular structure (Africa, Caribbean, and France) as Césaire does since he, an independent Haitian, does not conceive of the West Indies as a void. Gallagher discusses similar phenomena in her essay about Haitian Emile Ollivier's *Passages* and Guadeloupean Ernest Pépin's *Tambour Babel*. While both Gallagher and Munro tend to overlook the complexities that can be traced in a lot of Haitian writing coming out of the diaspora, Maximilien Laroche's essay presents an interesting analysis of the myth of *Haiti Chérie*.

Continuing on the Haitian path, Charles Forsdick then creates further connections in a fascinating paper about the *cachot de Joux*, where Napoleon imprisoned Toussaint L'Ouverture who eventually died there. Forsdick takes a specific *lieu de mémoire* and demonstrates what happens when Caribbean memory is displaced to Europe, where it forces European history to take into account marginalized aspects of its own past. He shows that L'Ouverture's destiny has been a source of inspiration for European romantics as well as for contemporary Caribbean writers. From a tiny cell in the Jura, Forsdick develops an intriguing story about transatlantic connections, silenced pasts, and pan-Caribbean possibilities. Perhaps his essay can be said to illustrate the ways in which the entire volume actually puts the idea of *ici-là* into practice by continuously offering new connections between here and elsewhere.

The essays then continue on the path traced by Glissant in his *Caribbean Discourse*, arguing that Caribbean literature in French needs to be reinscribed in its American context. From this *lieu* it can open up to an infinity of contacts with other milieus despite isolation and dependence that constitute the reality of the French Caribbean today.

## REFERENCE

GALLAGHER, MARY, 2002. *Soundings in French Caribbean Writing since 1950: The Shock of Space and Time*. New York: Oxford University Press.

*Caribbean Popular Music: An Encyclopedia of Reggae, Mento, Ska, Rock Steady, and Dancehall*. DAVID V. MOSKOWITZ. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2006. xxii + 346 pp. (Cloth US\$ 85.00)

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This handsomely designed book announces its flaws right up front. The first red flag is raised by its seriously misleading title. With two or three exceptions, every entry in this encyclopedia of “Caribbean popular music” focuses on Jamaican music. No attention whatsoever is paid to Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Martinique, or Guadeloupe – Caribbean places that, one might argue, are not bereft of interesting popular music. Nor is there any mention of the Bahamas, despite the photo of a Bahamian Junkanoo parade on the cover. (Trinidad and Tobago, in contrast, merits token representation, with an entry on the Mighty Sparrow.) In reality, the volume (as suggested by its subtitle) is nothing more nor less than an encyclopedia of *Jamaican* popular music.

Even as a reference work devoted specifically to Jamaican music, it often baffles. For instance, the very first entry (at nearly one-and-a-half pages, one of the longest in the book) is devoted to “A&M Records.” Here we learn all we might ever want to know about this Los Angeles-based record label, founded in the early 1960s by famed trumpet player Herb Alpert, and its successes with acts such as the Tijuana Brass, the Baja Marimba Band,

and Sergio Mendes and Brazil '66. Apparently the sole reason for the entry's length is the fact that, during the 1970s, the A&M label licensed several British rock recordings (along with a reggae album or two) from Chris Blackwell's Island Records.

The following entry, on "ABC Records," summarizes the history of another North American label known for chart-topping pop and rock performers such as Paul Anka and Steely Dan. There is not a single mention of Jamaican music here; the rationale for the entry (though it's nowhere made explicit) appears to be that among ABC's impressive roster of blues and R'n'B artists were a couple (namely Fats Domino and Lloyd Price) who exerted a significant influence on Jamaican popular music during its formative years.

These two opening entries – which are not the only ones connected very tenuously to Jamaican music – set the tone for the sometimes mystifying compilation of "facts" that take up the following three hundred plus pages.

Some of the book's problems clearly stem from an excessive reliance on the Internet. Many entries read as if they were cut and pasted from the websites of reggae artists, labels, and fans, with only minor tweaking before being transferred to the page, and the prose is often reminiscent of music industry cant. Of course, one of the perils of using the Internet for research is the notorious unreliability of much of the wealth of information it makes available. Separating the trustworthy from the totally unfounded can be an enormous task when relying on websites, many of which fail to credit sources clearly (a scholarly failing that Moskowitz shares here), so it comes as no surprise that the encyclopedia is littered with errors, both minor and major. I cite just a few that are representative of the kinds of errors scattered throughout the book. All three Nyabinghi drums, we are told, are double-membrane (p. 7) when in fact two are single-membrane. Louise Bennett's storied career is said to have started in 1970 (p. 27), a date that will come as a major surprise to those who were enjoying her work decades earlier. Moskowitz places the city of Kingston in rural Westmoreland parish, on the other side of the island (p. 232). He confuses Byron Lee of the Dragonaires with producer Bunny "Striker" Lee (p. 285). He transforms the Wailers' harmony coach Joe Higgs into record producer Joe Gibbs (p. 300), and on p. 318 the seminal producer and singer Prince Buster becomes "Prince Tubby" (in an apparent mix-up with engineer and dub pioneer King Tubby). Finally, birth dates and other chronological references are often wildly off.

Savvier readers will see this volume's failings as symptomatic of a larger problem. Because of reggae's commercial success beyond its birthplace, writing on Jamaican music frequently suffers from a shallowness born of the yawning distance that typically separates foreign music industries and markets (and the pop music journalists who cater to them) from the cultural milieu from which reggae sprang and continues to grow. If Moskowitz has ever been to Jamaica, one cannot tell by reading his book. Despite the enor-

mous quantity of “facts” listed in hundreds of entries, there is little here on the actual cultural resonance and deeper significance of Jamaican music for its makers and local audiences. Accusations of cultural misapprehension have become a common refrain among Jamaican critics irritated by a proliferating literature on their national music written almost entirely by “foreigners.” One can imagine further gnashing of teeth and tearing out of (dread)locks in response to this latest offering.

In all seriousness, though, the book, despite its many flaws, does make a useful contribution of sorts. Anyone who would attempt to produce a comprehensive encyclopedia of a popular music as famous for its poorly documented and incompletely known history as for its protean vastness deserves credit for bravery. And I would be remiss if I did not point out that buried within the motley assortment of often questionable “facts” in this volume are many pieces of information and clues that could be of considerable value to researchers prepared to view and evaluate these fragments alongside other sources and to do some further digging. To all others: handle with caution!

The volume is graced by dozens of high-quality photographs. As might be expected in a book of this kind, all of them come from a single web-based service, *UrbanImage.tv*, that makes available the camera work of well-known music writers and crack photo journalists for a fee.

*Defining Creole*. JOHN H. MCWHORTER. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. viii + 435 pp. (Paper US\$ 49.95)

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In this volume John McWhorter reiterates his views on creole genesis and attempts to expose the ideological issues that he believes have been negatively affecting research on creoles and preventing the acceptance of his own position. The overall tenor of the original parts and the anthological nature of the book suggest that his target audience is less creolists than nonspecialists. The book is divided into three parts, each consisting of several chapters and dealing with a separate issue relating to his account of creole genesis. A one-

page preface announces the general issues investigated in the book, names what he sees as the main sources of malaise in creole studies, and acknowledges that the chapters are often overlapping and represent slightly updated reprints of earlier articles. Each part consists of a several-page introduction, sometimes introduced by a personal anecdote or an analogy, with a discussion of what he considers to be the pertinent ideological problem inhibiting an objective view of the issue to be addressed and its “resolution,” and a brief summary of each paper, including the rationale for including it. There are notes and references for each chapter at the end of the book. Because of limited space I will only comment on Parts One and Two.

The first part gathers together five papers dealing with the definition of the term “creole” and ultimately with the question of whether there are any linguistic properties that set creoles apart from other languages. Unlike most creolists, McWhorter gives an affirmative answer, arguing that creoles naturally differ from other languages in that they lack three features: inflectional affixation, grammatical tone, and semantically opaque morphological compositions (“derivational noncompositionality”). According to McWhorter, the relative absence of these features in creoles is predictable because they are not useful for communication and only arise over a long period of time through language-internal change. As relatively recent creations creoles would thus not be able to have any or only very few of these features, though as the languages age they would be likely to emerge. The few instances of such features in creoles are mainly explained as rare instances of borrowing from the creole’s European input language resulting from very close contact between the two languages. He proposes that the ultimate reason for the absence of the three properties is that creole grammars are born from processes of pidginization involving the reduction of all non-essential grammatical features. His evidence comes largely from broad comparisons of creoles with a range of other languages and one creole, Saamaka (or Saramaccan), to one of its substrates, Fongbe. While few people working on creoles today would maintain either that they are (close) copies of their linguistic inputs or that creole genesis did not involve processes of reduction, there are also few who would accept McWhorter’s strong position. Current research clearly shows that the social and linguistic conditions that led to the emergence of creoles were highly variable, suggesting that no single linguistic process can account for most or all of their linguistic features. Moreover, McWhorter’s notion of pidginization is rather unspecific. His attempt to assign the historically heterogeneous social term “creole” a linguistic rationale may have fared somewhat better in that little counter-evidence has been brought forward to date. However, I am wondering what we stand to gain from it. In what way will this proposal give rise to new insights or directions of research? To my knowledge none have yet emerged.

The papers in the second part deal with the linguistic processes that led to the emergence of creoles. McWhorter criticizes the heavy emphasis in creole studies on contact-induced language-change-based explanations, including the interest in sociohistorically viable theorizing, and the interest in highlighting the social and linguistic variation across situations. In his view, this emphasis is due to certain liberal ideological stances within the field and contributes to making creoles and creole genesis into exceptional cases; the traditional historical linguistic view of language relationships posits that most change is language-internal. Based on certain linguistic features shared by some of the English-lexified Atlantic creoles, he thus proposes to “dust off” the old monogenesis theory which states that these creoles have a common origin on the west coast of Africa. The original creole was then transplanted to the Caribbean and South America where it underwent mainly language-internal changes. This account has attracted little support for several reasons. First, it is now widely accepted that the importance of language-internal explanations for change has been much overestimated in historical linguistic research and that other processes such as contact played a much greater role in the development of all languages. Second, creole genesis research today is highly diversified and rather than searching for a single all-inclusive explanation it focuses on understanding how the different linguistic inputs (e.g., European and non-European languages, creoles from other colonies) and linguistic processes (e.g., L2 acquisition, contact, language-internal change) conspired to give rise to creoles and which processes were involved in their post-emergence development. Third, although McWhorter is arguing for greater attention to language-internal change, his own work on such processes lacks the analytical rigor otherwise characteristic of diachronic investigations.

Overall, this book provides readers with a detailed view of McWhorter’s assessment of creole studies, one that is rather at odds with most current concerns and thinking in the field. However, unlike Bickerton’s controversial bioprogram theory from the 1980s, it holds little promise for sparking new avenues of investigation inside or outside the area.

*In Search of a National Identity: Creole and Politics in Guadeloupe.* ELLEN M. SCHNEPEL. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004. xvii + 294 pp. (Paper US\$ 56.80)

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This book delves deeply into an area of inquiry that thus far has received surprisingly little attention in Caribbeanist scholarship: the role of language in the politics of cultural identity. Outside linguistic circles, where the study of the region's numerous creole languages has been developing steadily since the 1960s, language issues have rarely been addressed beyond passing remarks on the persistent problems posed by the linguistic "fragmentation" of the region and the corresponding fragmentation of Caribbeanist scholarship itself. But there can be little doubt that the dynamics of language politics have figured prominently in the region's anticolonialist struggles and nation-building processes, or that creoles and other local language varieties serve their speakers as crucial resources in the construction and expression of cultural identity. Schnepel's book brings these and related issues to the fore, revealing their potential for illuminating a broad range of social phenomena – some self-evidently language-related, others much less so.

The book is a revised and in some respects updated version of a 1990 doctoral dissertation based on fieldwork in Guadeloupe in the mid-1980s. Schnepel states that she has "retained the original focus, organization, and conclusions as a testament to a particular time and context in Guadeloupe" (p. ix). As this suggests, reading the book is much like reading an exhaustively researched dissertation. The effect is heightened by the manner in which the text has been updated fourteen years later: primarily by means of extensive footnotes, at times so lengthy that they take up more space on the page than the main text. An integrative chapter-length epilogue adds much to the work as a whole, but otherwise it is mainly in the numerous footnotes, in rather piecemeal fashion, that references to post-1990 scholarship are made. The resulting two-tiered structure impedes the book's thematic cohesion and narrative flow insofar as it compels the reader to make frequent, lengthy departures from the main text, and often to shuttle back and forth between two time periods (roughly pre-1990 and post-1990) and two corresponding authorial voices.

The dedicated reader's patience and persistence will be rewarded, however, by a richly developed analysis of an intriguing social movement and

the historical context in which it emerged. The introduction delineates the book's central concern: the tensions between assimilation and cultural specificity that arose in Guadeloupe in the decades following departmentalization, i.e. the official incorporation, beginning in 1946, of Guadeloupe and other colonized territories into the French nation-state as "overseas departments." Although Guadeloupe has received considerably less attention than Martinique, a unique configuration of historical, sociocultural, and politico-economic factors have made tensions more acute in Guadeloupe, Schnepel asserts, particularly where language is concerned. As it unfolds in the eight chapters that follow, Schnepel's study takes the form of a nuanced, painstakingly detailed analysis of those factors and of the role of Guadeloupe's French-lexified creole language in symbolically, discursively, and ideologically mediating the complex relationships among them.

Schnepel takes as the focal point of her study a multifaceted conflict over the introduction of Creole in a secondary school, moving smoothly between micro and macro levels of analysis as she examines the local dynamics of that conflict and its societal, regional, and transnational implications. This is accomplished in part by devoting a full chapter to each of three key sites in which the controversies and debates unfolded: the school and local community, the mass media (print, radio, and television), and partisan political processes (in Guadeloupe as well as in other French Caribbean territories and France). Throughout the book, Schnepel is concerned with relationships within and among three broadly defined groups: "language strategists" and the interest groups that they constitute and represent; politicians and other community leaders, as brokers and manipulators of ideas and plans of action generated among the language strategists; and ordinary citizens (variously referred to as "the public," "the people," "the folk," etc.) who collectively respond to, and often reshape, the ideas, discourses, policies, and programs of action that emerge from the activities of the language strategists and political brokers.

Despite its concern with language issues, the study is not at all linguistic in orientation, nor is it sociolinguistic or linguistic anthropological in the usual sense. Rather, Schnepel takes what might be characterized as a sociology of language approach, grounding her study in ethnographic fieldwork and a social anthropological perspective that emphasizes the densely interwoven relationships among local actions and events and the larger contexts and systems within which they unfold, and which they in turn influence and transform. Glimpses of the Creole language, so central to the book's concerns, are surprisingly few and far between. Lengthy passages in French, on the other hand, are used throughout the text; these are drawn from diverse sources, including scholarly works, official documents, newspapers and other locally produced publications, letters and emails to the author from key informants, and transcriptions of Schnepel's numerous interviews with an impressively broad range of activists, politicians, scholars, and others.

The book is clearly not written for a wide audience or for casual readers, and would not lend itself to teaching purposes outside of a narrowly focused graduate seminar. Aside from the fact that it presupposes solid reading knowledge of French, the book is at times rendered less than accessible by the sheer detail of its explications of the intricacies of language politics in Guadeloupe, Martinique, France, and beyond. (Almost three full pages of the front matter are devoted to a glossary of acronyms used in the text – more than seven dozen of them, ranging from ACCT, *Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique* to ZEP, *Zones d'Education Prioritaire*.) Schnepel's blow-by-blow accounts of shifting alliances and political jockeying among a multitude of interest groups, major and minor political parties, and other organizations are sometimes difficult to wade through, but they make this book a singularly comprehensive and authoritative source on recent language and identity politics in Guadeloupe. Those with specific interests in Guadeloupe, the French Antilles, or the political and cultural aspects of language in the Caribbean more broadly should not miss this painstakingly researched study.